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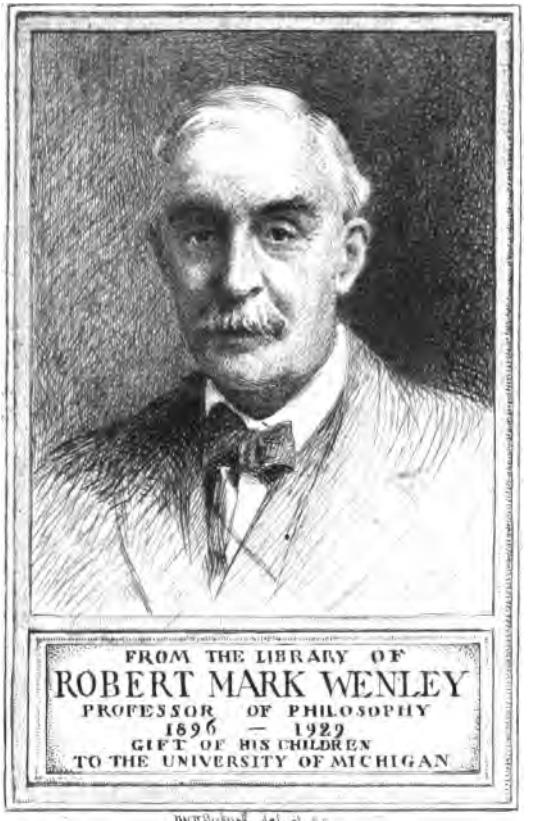

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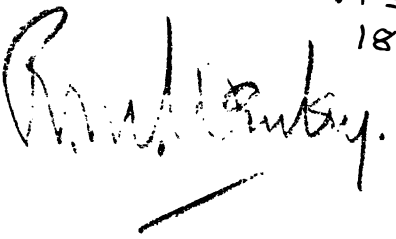

AN ESSAY

ON

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ATHENIANS.

BY

JOHN BROWN PATTERSON, M.A.

A New Edition,

WITH LARGE ADDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY THE AUTHOR SOME TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS,
EDINBURGH AND LONDON.
MDCCCLX.

12-9-37

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

THE Author of the following Essay was born at Alnwick, the county-town of Northumberland, on the 29th of January 1804. He was the son of Robert Patterson, who possessed a small property in the vicinity, and of Janet Brown, daughter of the Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, an eminent member of what was then called The Associate Synod, and Professor of Divinity to that body for more than a quarter of a century.

In 1810, Mrs Patterson, who had been some time a widow, removed with her family from Croft House, the name of her husband's property, to Edinburgh. Her son John was sent at a very tender age to a private classical school then taught by the late Benjamin Mackay, who was afterwards one of the Masters of the High School, and remained a pupil of his for three successive years. In 1815, Mrs Patterson removed with her family to her native place, Haddington. Its Grammar School, to which John was sent, was not then taught in a way to add much to the elementary training of Mr Mackay, or to bring into action the latent powers of the boy. Excellent as his moral training had been under the maternal roof (for to his mother he was greatly indebted for the gentleness, modesty, and equanimity of his character through life), he had not been so fortunate in his opportunities of public instruction. Accordingly, it was remarked that his physical

gained more than his mental development during the three years he resided at Haddington.

The intellectual history of John Patterson begins with his becoming a pupil in the Rector's Class of the High School of Edinburgh in 1818. He had nearly completed his 15th year, a time of life at which talent placed in favourable circumstances unfolds itself with singular rapidity. He was launched then into a class of upwards of 200 boys. Not having passed through the drill of the inferior classes, he took his place as the lowest member of the lowest form, and was pitched against boys, most of whom had gone through four, and many through five years of High School training. The system of teaching in the Rector's Class, by which every member of so numerous a body, from the highest to the lowest, was constantly under the influence of a motive to exertion, was then at its highest point of efficiency;* and such was its effect on the mind of Patterson, that in the course of his first year's attendance, he rose to distinction on the highest or dux's Form. In the following year he was *facile princeps* in every branch taught—Latin, Greek, and Ancient Geography; and in August 1820, he gained the Gold Medal, which proclaimed him the Head-boy of a Classical School, numbering considerably upwards of 800 pupils. During the whole of this period of increasing distinction and undisputed pre-eminence, he bore his faculties so meekly, that he was the only one among his schoolfellows who seemed not to be aware of his own vast superiority. There was no feeling of jealous rivalry, no breath of calumny. He was equally beloved and admired. That his teacher should be penetrated with the same sentiments, and could not always conceal them, was not to be wondered at; and yet he never was suspected of

* The nature of this system and the principles on which it was founded, are fully explained in the "Rationale of School Discipline," published in 1852, and will be found in Prof. Pillans's "Contributions to the Cause of Education," published by Longman & Co., 1857.

favouritism, of which schoolmasters are so frequently and in general so unjustly accused.

These two years, 1818–19, and 19–20, were doubtless, not only the most improving, but the happiest that his youth had hitherto passed; and to the feelings with which they had inspired him he gave expression in a paper written on occasion of his leaving the Rector's Class. It was entitled, "Recollections of the High School," and is valuable as a proof that, under the calm, unpretending, and apparently passionless simplicity of his exterior deportment, there lay concealed a warmth of cordiality, an earnestness of purpose, an enthusiasm, an imagination, and a command of eloquent expression, that do equal credit to the head and the heart of a boy of sixteen, and, as such, are not to be omitted in a portraiture of John Patterson. It does not appear to have been addressed to any one, or intended for any specific purpose, other than to put on record what he felt while it was fresh in his memory; for it was found among his papers after his death. It consists mainly of a minute and vivid description of the various processes which the Rector had adopted to keep alive the attention, to stimulate the exertions, and to secure the progress of 250 boys assembled in one class. It has been printed nearly entire in a Memoir prefixed to a posthumous work of the author published in 1837, and some readers may be curious to compare Patterson's narrative as there given, with the account which the Rector gave of the same thing in his "Rationale of School Discipline."*

We have room here only for the opening and closing reflections of this long paper—the composition of a boy of 17, "just let loose from school:"—

"My attendance at the Rector's Class in the High School of Edinburgh is endeared to me by many a delightful recollection. It was

* See "Discourses by the late Rev. J. B. Patterson, with a Memoir of his Life." Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 1837.

there that I first had my ambition roused, and my mind cultivated to any good purpose. It was there that I first found myself of importance among my fellow-creatures. It was there that I formed and enjoyed many pleasant companionships; and it was there I obtained the notice and kindness of one who has never ceased to load me with favour, and to whom, I trust, I shall never cease to entertain sentiments of mingled esteem and gratitude. I cannot, then, better employ this leisure hour than in noting down a few remembrances of its admirable mechanism, —in tracing the outlines of a picture which none of the changes and chances of this mortal life shall ever blot from my memory."

. . . . . .

"Such is a meagre outline of the picture which yet lives in all its freshness in my mind. But how shall I transfer to paper the rainbow-hues of delight, and the active and vigorous spirit with which the original was clothed and animated, and which made the hours of school and of study—usually the most irksome of a boy's existence—those which I enjoyed most when present, and looked back upon with most complacency when past? Shall I attempt to describe the companions who made what was delightful in school and on Arthur's Seat* more pleasant, and what was laborious and mortifying more tolerable? Shall I sketch the creator and genius of the whole admirable mechanism, of which I have drawn the greater wheels and springs, moulding and directing it all to its destined end? Shall I tell how he added new grace to the breathing thoughts and burning words of inspired antiquity, by accumulating on them the selected beauties of succeeding ages, and the native flowers of his own exquisite and cultivated taste? How his words would take fire at some of those

'Starry lights of genius, that diffuse
Through the dark depths of time their vivid flame,'

and kindle into eloquence in the cause of the muses and of virtue? How he lighted up a portion of his own enthusiasm in the breasts of his pupils? How he united with his reverence for antiquity due sentiments of honour to the present? How he could soar on Mæonian wing, and yet grapple patiently and successfully with the elemental difficulties of the humblest intellect committed to his care? How he maintained such absolute self-command, that I never saw him discomposed in temper? How his universal kindliness softened the repelling lustre of his talents and his learning? No! the pen cannot describe them;

* The name of a well-known hill in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

but they are treasured up in my heart's core. Would that they may produce their legitimate effect, in leading me to pay my master, patron, and friend, the best homage I can yield him,—the homage of a life regulated according to his desires, and of a mind cultivated according to his expectations!

"The just fame which the class acquired attracted to view it most of the natives and foreigners of distinction who spent any time in Edinburgh during its session. In the beginning of every quarter there was an examination of the class in the presence of the friends of the master and the pupils, in which the usual routine of the class was as much as possible observed, where it was our master's pride to exhibit our trifling feats of intellect, and ours to justify his praise, and not disgrace the fame of our school. Last came 'the great, the important day,' when the anniversary public examination took place. A few days before, the master, from the records of the class and his own recollections, fixed the places, accompanying the arrangement with a few words of congratulation to the successful, and of comfort to the disappointed. And it was wonderful to observe with what good-humour all acquiesced in his decision, and how complete an absence there was among them of any thing like bad feeling. The near approach of the separation, after which they should *all* meet no more for ever, seemed to diffuse a melancholy feeling over the most thoughtless, and to melt down the affections of all to the same temperament of mutual regard. For days before, the voice of their sports was silent in the play ground, and they were seen sauntering through it either in solitary reflection, or in groups of farewell conversation. On the day before the last day we should all meet in private, our beloved master took leave of us by addressing to us a few sentences of recollection, reflection, and advice, and commending us to the great Father of all. Next forenoon the class assembled at an early hour, and sat in anxious and silent expectation until the arrival of the presiding Magistrates was announced, and the doors thrown open to the overflowing public. The examination commences; a few shots are fired in the lower parts of the class, but the discharge mounts rapidly to the higher regions of the line; and before an hour or two is past, the whole is confined to a rapid and red-hot interchange of interrogations and answers between the examinator's bench and the dux's form. The sun is descending rapidly to his goal, —the final question is put, and it is mute expectation all; the master announces the names and merits of the successful competitors for prizes,—the tumult of applause begins, and, amidst its reverberated

thunders, the prizes are delivered, the parting-speeches are made, and all is over!

"All to me is over! I now enter the play-ground, but am greeted by no smile of recognition, save from the hoary janitor. I tread where once 'my name was rife,' but there it lives no longer, save on the perishable canvass. But if I forget you, scenes of my youthful ambition and delight,—if I forget thee, my master and benefactor,—if I forget you, once loved companions of my studious hours,—may the strings of my mind be dissolved! may 'my right hand forget her cunning!' Many of you still meet me in the academic walks; but soon this intercourse also will have passed away. Many of you are now in distant regions, and one of you is gone, and another is fast going, to that remotest and most

> ——— 'Undiscovered country, from whose bourne
> No traveller returns.'

"Perhaps we shall meet again! J. P."

Patterson had entered the Rector's Class utterly ignorant of Latin versification, and with very little knowledge of prosody; yet in the course of his two years' attendance he acquired facility in the practice, and produced many exercises in different measures, not inferior to the following specimen of Hexameters. No exercise of this kind was ever received which the Rector did not ascertain to be the genuine unassisted production of the writer;—a precaution taken even in the case of John Patterson; though, from his high moral character and unimpeachable veracity, such precaution might well have been dispensed with. The specimen is part of an exercise written on the prescribed theme, *Sideribus novere vias*, (Lucan. x. 495), containing the description of a traveller left alone in the sandy deserts of Africa, amidst the phenomena of the Mirage and the Simoom.

* * * * * *

"Dum peragrat lassus sine tramite regna viator
Immotum frustra simul auribus aëra captans
Atque oculis quærens flaventis littora ponti,
Nil cernit præter cœlum undique, et undique arenas

Quas tacitis æterna Quies superincubat alis—
Longinquum tonitru resonat nisi forte leonis,
Aut trifido serpens horrendùm sibilat ore,
Aut—quà mercator, sabuli discrimina tentans,
Cœlo noscit iter saxove Aquilonis amico,—
Rauca camelorum vox dira silentia rumpit.
Advena perculsus vix se jam vivere sentit,
Mortua cum circà prorsus Natura videtur.
"Hic tamen interdum procul æquor amabile cernit,
Æthere cæruleo longe sua cærula miscens,
Riparumque toros virides: non qualis *Oasis*,—
Rarò permulcens oculos spe fontis et umbrâ
Vix flavum varians campum,—sed ubique patentes
Elysios campos. En præmia digna laboris!
Lætitiâ præceps exul ruit, advolat, instat,
Jamque tenet, gelidas jam sese immergit in undas,
Quùm subito ex oculis vanescunt omnia lapsu,
Statque miser campi medio sine limite adusti.
"Quòd si consurgens quando Neptunus arenæ
Jungit equos Venti, et rapidas molitur habenas,
Effugit ecce Quies; præceps Discordia sævit:
Ante rotas Regis gaudens exultat Eremus,
In chaos antiquum tanquam se funderet orbis.
"Ille, columnato provectus turbine curru,
Horrisono gestit stridore, regitque procellam,
Dum fluctus infra torquentur gurgite vasto,
Desuper et cœlum fulvis obtexitur umbris.
Tunc miser, occurrit sævi qui Numinis iræ!
Nec fuga, nec votum, nec vis profecerit illi.
"Forsan et infelix, membris languore solutis,
Sese errare putat quà fons argenteus undâ
Lætificat patrios campos, aut scandere colles,
Quorum gaudebat juvenis super ardua niti.
Heu! minimè reputas tibi quàm sors ingruat atra:
Somnus enim, mentem qui illudit imagine pulchrâ,
Est Consanguinei prænuntius; altior instat
Umbra, soporque caput languens jam ferreus urget.
Quin properas? venti veloces indue pennas,
Si tempestatem possis vitare sequacem.
Nequicquam!—assequitur non eluctabile fatum,

Atque indefletus jam mergitur exul arenâ.
Excitus, ad sævum vertit semel æthera vultum
Et patriæ dulcis moriens reminiscitur agros."

The two sessions of Patterson's attendance at the High School, were also the last of the Rectorship of Mr Pillans, who entered on his duties as Professor of Humanity in Nov. 1820, the same year in which John Patterson began his University curriculum. During the first two years of that course of study he continued to be one of the new Professor's pupils, fully maintaining the high position he had attained in the Rector's Class, and gaining the highest distinction both in the daily *vivâ voce* examination on the choice passages of the more advanced Classics, and in written exercises, whether the latter consisted of English Essays (on classical subjects), or of original composition in Latin prose and verse, or of poetical versions of select passages of the Roman poets.

In the other Classes of the quadrennial course,—the Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and Rhetoric, —he gained the highest honours that were going. Even in Mathematics, which was not his favourite study, he did the duty of an earnest and faithful student. In the second Mathematical Class, he wrote an essay on the Metaphysics of Mathematical Science, which was thought worthy of an *extra ordinem* Prize.

During the Summer recess that followed the second year of his College attendance, Patterson spent some time with his old master at Duddingston Manse, and expresses in letters to his academical friends the delight he had in meeting there some of the men, such as Jeffrey and his compeers, who at that time (1821) adorned the Scottish Bar, and enlightened the British public in the pages of the Edinburgh Review.

In the autumn of the following year (1822), Count Flahault, being resident in Edinburgh with his wife, Lady Keith, at a time when the town was much deserted, bethought himself of

employing his leisure in reverting to the studies of his early youth, and applied to Professor Pillans to procure for him the assistance of a person who could come at stated hours to read Latin and Greek with him. The Professor, on looking over his list of candidates for such appointments, could find many older, but none that he considered so fully qualified as the youthful boy-like Patterson, and with some apology for sending one so young, requested only that he would try him for a week. Less time than that was enough to satisfy the Count, himself a good scholar, and one of the most gentlemanlike and accomplished men of his day, that Patterson was exactly what he wanted; and so much did he become attached to his young preceptor that, when he returned with his family to Meiklour, which was then his residence, he carried Patterson with him, and many of the happiest days of the youth's brief span of life were spent in the society and friendly intercourse of that distinguished nobleman. There can be no doubt that by such opportunities as these, the range of his education and of his reading was much enlarged.

In the latter half of 1824 Mr Patterson was engaged in an occupation which afforded him a good opportunity both of exhibiting and extending his acquaintance with the writings of the Ancients. Mr Wm. Douglas, a gentleman of fortune in the south of Scotland, associated with him in a tour through Greece his friend Mr Williams, once so well known in Edinburgh as an eminent painter of landscape in water-colours. They visited almost all the localities rendered interesting to every man of liberal education by the frequent descriptions of and allusions to them in the writings that remain of the ancient poets, historians, and philosophers of Greece and Rome. Of these celebrated scenes, with all their surroundings, Mr Williams made accurate sketches on the spot, and was thus enabled, on his return home, to finish

off those numerous and beautiful drawings which were exhibited to an admiring public, on the walls of the Edinburgh Calton Convening Room. So eminently successful was this exhibition, that it led to the publication of "*Williams's Views in Greece*" in two volumes, containing engravings, beautifully executed, of the scenes of greatest interest. While a descriptive catalogue of these was in preparation for the press, Professor Pillans suggested to his friend the idea of accompanying it with select passages from the Classics illustrative of the scenes represented, with translations in verse or prose, for the benefit of intelligent readers of both sexes; and he proffered his aid in selecting and translating the excerpts. This he did, as he told Mr Williams, in reliance upon the tried abilities of his former pupil John Patterson, who, both in the Rector's Class, and as a student in the Senior Humanity, had distinguished himself in this kind of exercise above all others either of his own or of any preceding class. The painter gladly adopted the suggestion. Accordingly the selected passages along with Patterson's translations, which are known by the initials J. P. appended to them, imparted a charm and popularity to the publication which soon exhausted the edition. As the book is now rarely to be met with, we shall insert here one specimen of Patterson's verse translations. It is of a passage in one of the Tragedies that go under the name of Seneca; Patterson's rendering of which many scholars have considered as equal to the original, and not a few have thought it superior.

"Quis satis Thebas fleat?
Ferax Deorum tellus, quem dominum tremit?
E cujus arvis, eque foecundo sinu
Stricto juventus orta cum ferro stetit;
Cujusque muros natus Amphion Jove
Struxit canoro saxa modulatu trahens;
In cujus urbem non semel Divôm pater,
Caelo relicto, venit; haec quae caelites

Recepit, et quae fecit, et (fas sit loqui)
Fortasse faciet, sordido premitur jugo.
Cadmea proles, civis atque Ophionis,
Quo decidistis? tremitis ignavum exsulem
Suis carentem finibus, nostris gravem;
Qui scelera terra, quique persequitur mari,
Tenetque Thebes exul Herculeas Lycus."

SENECA.

"THEBES! who shall weep aright for thee,
No more the valiant and the free?
Thou cradle-land of many a god,
Stoop'st thou beneath a tyrant's rod?
SHE,—from whose fields together rose
The sworded bands of spell-born foes,
Whose walls to rear, Amphion's tones
Led, as in dance, the charmed stones;
For whom so oft eternal Jove
Hath left his radiant seats above:
To whom in former years was given
To shrine her favourites in heaven;
Who, haply, gods will yet create,—
SHE bows beneath the cankering weight
Of iron bondage and disgrace.
How are ye fall'n, Cadmean race!
Shall a proud outcast vilely spurn
Your freedom's rights, ye dragon-born?
Shall he usurp your country's throne,
A sordid exile from his own?
Whose crimes affront the land and main,
Shall he Herculean Thebes profane?"

On another occasion, being invited to attempt a poetical version of the Chorus of Aristophanes (Nub. v. 296, &c.), he produced the following:—

Παρθένοι ὀμβροφόροι,
Ἐλθωμεν λισσαὶν χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐανδρον γᾶν
Κέκροπος ὀψόμεναι πολυήρατον·
Οὗ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα
Μυστοδόκος δόμος

gained more than his mental development during the three years he resided at Haddington.

The intellectual history of John Patterson begins with his becoming a pupil in the Rector's Class of the High School of Edinburgh in 1818. He had nearly completed his 15th year, a time of life at which talent placed in favourable circumstances unfolds itself with singular rapidity. He was launched then into a class of upwards of 200 boys. Not having passed through the drill of the inferior classes, he took his place as the lowest member of the lowest form, and was pitched against boys, most of whom had gone through four, and many through five years of High School training. The system of teaching in the Rector's Class, by which every member of so numerous a body, from the highest to the lowest, was constantly under the influence of a motive to exertion, was then at its highest point of efficiency;* and such was its effect on the mind of Patterson, that in the course of his first year's attendance, he rose to distinction on the highest or dux's Form. In the following year he was *facile princeps* in every branch taught—Latin, Greek, and Ancient Geography; and in August 1820, he gained the Gold Medal, which proclaimed him the Head-boy of a Classical School, numbering considerably upwards of 800 pupils. During the whole of this period of increasing distinction and undisputed pre-eminence, he bore his faculties so meekly, that he was the only one among his schoolfellows who seemed not to be aware of his own vast superiority. There was no feeling of jealous rivalry, no breath of calumny. He was equally beloved and admired. That his teacher should be penetrated with the same sentiments, and could not always conceal them, was not to be wondered at; and yet he never was suspected of

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was unanimously in favour of *Patterson*. The discourse next in merit—

"Proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,"—*Aen.* v. 320.

was that of the late Allan Menzies, afterwards Professor of Conveyancing in the University, and on him the Senatus Academicus conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts. Other facts in connection with this successful production of Patterson may be gathered from the Documents prefixed to his Essay by order of the Commissioners, which are reprinted here from the first edition, together with the Dedication of that edition to his public instructor, whose pupil he had been for the unusual period of four years. Encouraged by the cordial reception and rapid sale which the Essay had met with, Mr Patterson embodied in an interleaved copy of the Essay the results of farther reading and reflection. The author's own views in preparing for a second edition are explained in the following extract of a letter to Professor Pillans:—

"I have this day transmitted to my brother the materials for a second edition of the Essay, if you think it should go on. I desired Mr Waugh to communicate with you on the subject, and let me know the result. I have not, however, heard from him.* The only material alteration which I have made upon it has been to introduce the notes which stood at the end into the body of the work, partly as portions of the text, and partly as foot-notes. The reason of this is, that in their original form they greatly offended my ideas of propriety and symmetry, as no reason could be well assigned for their existing in the shape of an appendix, except the arbitrary regulation of the programme. It was proper, perhaps, to conform to that regulation in the first edition, which was more strictly an academical publication, but in the second, which is my own affair, it is but right that the notes should appear where they tell most forcibly. I think you will agree with me, when you see the proofs, that they add greatly to the effect of the Essay, inserted in their proper

* At the time this communication was made, Mr Waugh was on the eve of bankruptcy, and soon after removed to Australia; and this accounts for the second edition not having been then published.

place. I have subjoined translations to all the classical quotations,—and altogether I hope we shall be able to make the second really an Improved Edition."

Mr Leonard Horner, who was resident in Edinburgh during the period of Patterson's High School and College course, and who took a warm interest in the progress of his studies and the promotion of his views in life, had removed to London about the time of the publication of the Prize Essay; and to him Mr Patterson was indebted for Mr, afterwards Sir Robert, Peel's attention being drawn to its merits.

The circumstances attending and consequent upon this part of Mr Patterson's history, will be best understood by embodying in this biographical notice the following letter, written in reply to a request of Professor Pillans that Mr Horner would put in writing his recollections of what passed between him and Mr Peel, then Home Secretary, on the subject of Patterson and his Essay:—

"17 Queen's Road West, Regent's Park,
London, 31*st October* 1859.

"My Dear Pillans,—You ask me to tell you what I remember of the particulars of my communications with the late Sir Robert Peel, relative to the appointment of our then young friend John Patterson to a charge in the Church of Scotland. Although it is now thirty years since those communications took place, I will do what I can to recall and record the circumstances.

"It was in the spring of the year 1828 that I read Patterson's Essay on the National Character of the Athenians, with which I was greatly struck. Feeling how much it would improve the Ministers of the Church of Scotland, if classical learning were more common among them, I soon afterwards sent a copy of the Essay to Sir Robert, then Mr, Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department. I represented to him how few rewards existed in the Universities of Scotland for any successful achievements in the study of the Greek and Latin languages and literature, and how much it would elevate the character and standing in society of the Ministers of Religion in Scotland if such accomplishments were more common than they then were; and I ven-

tured to express a hope that,—as Mr Patterson was destined for the Church of Scotland, and as I had the best ground for saying that he was eminently fitted for a right discharge of the primary duties of a Minister of Religion,—Mr Peel, if he thought favourably of the Essay, would reward it by nominating Mr Patterson to one of the Churches in the gift of the Crown, should a fit opportunity present itself.

"I got no reply for some months; but, at length, one came in Mr Peel's own hand-writing, saying he had delayed answering my letter until the close of the Session of Parliament, as before that time he had not had leisure to read the Essay; that he had now done so, and was so much struck by its ability and learning, that it would give him much satisfaction to recommend Mr Patterson to a Living, when a favourable opportunity offered itself.

"Not many weeks afterwards I received a note from Mr Peel, of which the following is a copy:*—

"*Private.* "WHITEHALL, *Nov.* 5, 1828.

"SIR,—Can you inform me whether Mr Patterson is now qualified for the Church?

"I make the inquiry, because a living is now vacant in Scotland, to which I think it is *possible* that I might be enabled to appoint him.—I have the honour to be, SIR,

"Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.

"LEONARD HORNER, Esq."

Next day, the following letter came:—

"*Private.* "WHITEHALL, *Nov.* 6, 1828.

"SIR,—Since I wrote to you I have reasons for increased confidence that I can place Mr Patterson without delay in the ministry of the Church of Scotland, and I shall be happy in the opportunity of giving to that Church the advantage of his eminent abilities and high moral character.

"There is at present a vacancy in the parish of Daviot in Aberdeenshire. The heritors are divided as to the recommendation of a minister, and if Mr Patterson be qualified, and inclined to accept this offer, I will not hesitate to name him to His Majesty.

* This, and all of Sir Robert Peel's letters and notes inserted here were not signed only, but written throughout with his own hand.

"It may be of importance to him before he decides, that he should know the parish for which I designate him, and I therefore trouble you with this second letter.—I have the honour to be, SIR,

"Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.

"LEONARD HORNER, Esq."

And a few days afterwards the following:—

"*Private.* "WHITEHALL, *Nov.* 11, 1828.

"SIR,—I am not at present prepared to say whether it would be proper to keep the living of Daviot open until after Mr Patterson, who was not qualified for the ministry at the time it became vacant, should become qualified.

"A little consideration of the subject may perhaps be the more necessary on account of other candidates having been recommended by the Heritors.

"So far as personal feelings are concerned, I would keep the Living open with the greatest pleasure; but I may perhaps learn, on the inquiry which I will make in Scotland, that objections of a general nature might be felt to such an arrangement. But under any circumstances, my desire to promote the views of Mr Patterson, in respect to the Church, will remain unabated.—I have the honour to be, SIR,

"Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.

"LEONARD HORNER, Esq."

I immediately communicated the contents of these letters to Mr Patterson, who was then at Oxford, and, to the best of my recollection, he accepted Mr Peel's generous offer. I have found a letter he wrote to me dated at the time, of which the following is a copy:—

"OXFORD, *December* 1, 1828.

"MY DEAR MR HORNER,—I ought to have thanked you sooner for your attention in sending me Mr Peel's last note, but, having been in daily expectation of hearing how the matter was to be finally arranged, I had hoped that before now I should have been able to express to you once for all my sincere gratitude for the kind interest you have taken in my welfare throughout the transaction. I feel of course somewhat anxious to know the result as soon as it is decided, particularly as the term closes

here next week, when I shall set off for Scotland. But I am well assured that I may depend on your kindness to give me whatever information you yourself receive, as soon as it is at all possible.

"I have received a long letter from Mr Pillans on the subject, entering his 'solemn protest against relegating myself into that Sarmatian banishment,' (to use the feeblest of the epithets by which he designates poor Daviot,) and arguing against it in a way which, had I received his letter before making my choice, would perhaps have 'given me pause.' After all, however, I rather think I acted right, feeling as I do that my profession ought not to be made a mere stepping-stone to secular interest. At any rate the die is cast, and were it for nothing else than the trouble I have occasioned Mr Peel, I would not retract. At the same time I shall feel the reverse of disappointment if Mr Peel should on other grounds think proper otherwise to supply the parish. But, whatever may be the result, I shall always remember with equal gratitude the kind concern you have in this and all cases displayed for my welfare and happiness. . . . .

"Allow me to offer my most respectful compliments to Mrs Horner. Believe me, My DEAR WARDEN,

"Yours with the greatest gratitude and esteem,

"JOHN B. PATTERSON."

I communicated to you Mr Peel's offer, and to my dismay received an answer from you, to the effect that I could not have done Patterson a greater disservice than by getting him banished to Daviot, where, away from books and all excitement to prosecute his classical studies, he would be buried alive. I had nothing for it but to do the best I could to save my young friend from so sad a fate; and relying upon Mr Peel's known liberal mind, I determined to lay the whole case before him. I asked for an interview; it was granted: he received me with great kindness: I told my story, narrating what you had written to me, with, I suppose, evident signs of distress that I should be refusing what he had so generously offered. He saw this, and I remember his answer perfectly,—'Do not distress yourself, Mr Horner; I think you and Professor Pillans judge most wisely for Mr Patterson's interest; if a better opportunity offers, I shall not forget him, and if I leave this office, I shall leave a memorandum recommending him to the favourable consideration of my successor.'

I received in September 1829 a letter from Mr Peel, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Private.* "WHITEHALL, *Sept.* 11, 1829.

"SIR,—The enclosed copy of a letter which I have just written to Mr Patterson will prove to you that I have not forgotten him. You will see that I have resolved on placing him in one of the most important trusts in the Church of Scotland—the ministry of the populous manufacturing parish of Falkirk. I incur no little responsibility in making this selection; but I feel a strong confidence that it will be entirely justified by the exertions of Mr Patterson.—I have the honour to be, SIR,

"Your faithful Servant,

"LEONARD HORNER, Esq., (Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.
"London University."

(*Enclosed in the preceding.*)

"*Private.* "WHITEHALL, *Sept.* 11, 1829.

"SIR,—One of the most important charges in the Church of Scotland has been recently placed at my disposal—that of the parish of Falkirk.

"I felt it to be my duty to offer it to two ministers of established character and high professional eminence. By both it has been refused on the ground that the ministerial duty of such a church must be very laborious, and, as each of them apprehends, too much for his health and strength.

"I have now determined to recommend you to His Majesty for this important trust. I do it because you have given a public proof of your abilities, because I have very satisfactory testimonials to your private character and moral conduct, and because I feel a strong assurance that you will do your utmost to justify my selection of a young, and (professionally speaking) untried man for an arduous and very responsible trust in that Church of which you are a minister.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.

"The Rev. JOHN BROWN PATTERSON,
7 Meadow Place, Edinburgh."

Having expressed my grateful acknowledgments to Mr Peel for his generous bounty to my young friend, I received from him in reply the letter of which the following is a copy:—

"WHITEHALL, *October* 7, 1829.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to return you my thanks for your letter. You must not acquit me altogether of selfish motives in the nomination of

Mr Patterson, for I have had greater personal satisfaction in the opportunity of appointing him, and in thus enlarging the sphere of his public usefulness, than I could have had in the appointment of any other minister of the Church of Scotland.—I have the honour to be, DEAR SIR,

"Your faithful Servant,

(Signed) "ROBERT PEEL.

"LEONARD HORNER, Esq."

I have now given you all the information I possess relative to this transaction. To have been in any degree instrumental in promoting the welfare of this most excellent and distinguished man, whom I first saw as a boy, when he was Dux in your own class in the High School, and who at an early age fell a sacrifice, I fear, to the ardour with which he devoted himself to the discharge of his parochial duties, I have ever looked back upon with heartfelt pleasure. I now rejoice in the opportunity you have afforded me of making known another proof of the enlightened liberality and warm sympathy with the efforts of genius, which were so conspicuous in the character of that lamented Statesman.—I am, MY DEAR PILLANS, faithfully yours,

LEONARD HORNER.

Mr Horner's exertions in his behalf are gracefully acknowledged by Mr Patterson in the following extract of a letter bearing the date, Hensol, near Castle-Douglas, 30th September 1829.

"MY DEAR Mr HORNER,—Perhaps you may have observed in the *Gazette* that, through the kindness of Mr Peel, I have been appointed to the Church and Parish of Falkirk, in many respects one of the best in Scotland. As it was through your kind interest on my behalf that I was first introduced to the notice of Mr Peel, I feel that it is to you I owe a great portion of the gratitude which this most flattering appointment demands. I beg you to be assured of the heartfelt sense I entertain of your past kindness, and especially of that particular act of it which has proved the occasion of so gratifying a result. I earnestly trust that I may be enabled to make you the only recompense in my power, that of doing what in me lies that you may not see cause to repent of your indulgence towards me through my indolent or unfaithful discharge of the important and arduous trust committed to my hands."

As the Established minister of the then extensive parish of Falkirk, Mr Patterson conducted himself with a conscientious zeal, ability, and assiduity which, while it made him beloved and admired by his numerous parishioners, paved the way, it is to be feared, for a premature death after an incumbency of little more than five years. The parish of Falkirk embraced the district and densely populated village of Grangemouth, where it was the Minister's duty to preach occasionally. It is said that on one of these occasions, after doing duty, he walked to Falkirk in a sultry summer day, and on reaching home in a state of exhaustion, he threw himself on a sofa, behind which was an open window, and that this was the predisposing cause of the malady that proved fatal. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that the amount of ministerial labour required in a parish so extensive and so populous, and the extreme conscientiousness with which the duty was performed, impaired a constitution originally sound, and made it more obnoxious to, and less able to resist the attacks of disease. He died of Typhus fever, at Edinburgh on the 29th of June 1835, in the 31st year of his age, leaving a widow and one son to lament his premature decease.

DOCUMENTS

CONNECTED WITH

THE ROYAL COMMISSION PRIZE ESSAY.

On the 7th of April 1827, the following programme was issued to the University of Edinburgh:

"UNIVERSITY COMMISSION PRIZE.

"His Majesty's Commissioners for Visiting the Universities and Colleges of Scotland, considering that it would be very desirable that they should afford an opportunity to the Students of the University of Edinburgh for displaying their talents and acquirements by a Public Prize, have

"Resolved,

"1*st*, That they will give the sum of One Hundred Guineas as a prize for the best Essay *on the National Character of the Athenians, and the Causes of those*

Peculiarities by which it was distinguished, to be read by the author in presence of the Patrons, the Principal, Professors, and the whole University, on which occasion some of the Commissioners will attend.

"2*d*, That the Competition be open to all the Students who have matriculated and attended any one of the Classes of the said University, during the present Session (1826–7), whether they shall attend next Session of College or not. And,

"3*d*, That the Principal and Professors of the Faculty of Arts in the said College be the judges of the comparative merits of the Essays given in, and award the prize.

"The following rules must be strictly observed by the competitors:

"1 Each Essay shall be distinguished by a motto, and accompanied with a sealed letter having the motto on the outside, and containing within the name and address of the author, together with a declaration subscribed by him in the following terms: 'I hereby declare, upon my honour, that the Essay on the National Character of the Athenians, &c., bearing the motto ——— is solely and exclusively my own composition, and that in composing it I consulted the following books, viz.———'

"2. When the *words* of an author are taken, they shall be marked as a quotation, and reference made to the passage where they occur.

"3. The Essay shall not occupy more time in reading than about an hour, and any long quotation or additional illustrations that may be thought necessary shall be given as an appendix.

"4. Every part of the manuscript, except what is contained in the sealed letter, shall be written in a legible hand by a transcriber, and not by the author.

"5. The Essay shall be transmitted to the Principal, at the University Chambers, on or before the 15th of September next.

"Competitors for the Prize are informed that, when the Principal and Professors have fixed on an Essay that seems entitled to the prize, they will open the sealed letter accompanying it, but before publishing their determination will request a personal interview with the author, that they may have an opportunity of conversing with him on the subject.

"College of Edinburgh,
4th April 1827."

On the 29th of October the following notice appeared:

"His Majesty's Commissioners for visiting the Universities and Colleges of Scotland have received the following statement from the Faculty of Arts of the College of Edinburgh."

"College, Edinburgh, *Oct.* 26, 1827.

"The Principal and the Professors of the Faculty of Arts, having attentively examined twenty-four Essays 'on the Character of the Athenians and the Causes of those Peculiarities by which it was distinguished,' submitted to them in competition for the Prize proposed by the Royal Commission, were unanimously of opinion that the preference was due to that which had for its motto:

"Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset,
"Nam miranda magis nulla tabella foret.

"And having opened the sealed letter bearing the same motto, they found the name of the author to be

"John Brown Patterson,
"Student of Divinity.

(Signed) "Geo. H. Baird, *Principal.*
Andrew Brown, *Dean of Faculty.*
John Leslie.
George Dunbar.
David Ritchie.
William Wallace.
John Wilson.
James Pillans."

"The Commissioners have much pleasure in communicating the result of this Competition."

The said Essay having, in conformity with the original regulations, been read on the 17th of November, in presence of the ROYAL COMMISSIONERS, the PATRONS, the PRINCIPAL, PROFESSORS, and UNIVERSITY, the COMMISSIONERS came to the following resolutions in regard to it:

"COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH,
17*th November* 1827.

"The ROYAL COMMISSIONERS, having re-assembled after having heard MR PATTERSON'S Essay read, feel themselves called upon to express their high admiration of it; and impressed with the talent, erudition, and eloquence by which it is so eminently distinguished, they

"RESOLVE,

"That it be printed.

"That the above Resolution be communicated to MR PATTERSON by the Chairman, and a copy of this minute be transmitted to the SENATUS ACADEMICUS."

ON THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ATHENIANS.

Μετὰ μεγάλων σημείων καὶ οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι, τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα· καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν, καὶ γῆν ἔσβατον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ παναναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, τιαυταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀΐδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. (PERICLES.)—*Vid.* Thucyd. II. 41.

"Not unwitnessed, nor testified by trivial monuments is the greatness which we possess, and on account of which we shall be regarded with wonder by those who at present are, and those who shall be hereafter. No Homer need we for an eulogist, nor one whose eloquence might give pleasure for the moment, while his imaginative pictures of our actions were contradicted by the truth of history. For we have constrained the whole land and sea to become the path-way of our generous daring, and everywhere we have erected eternal memorials of evil and of good."

TO

JAMES PILLANS, A.M., F.R.S.E.,

PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

THE FOLLOWING ESSAY

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

IN TOKEN OF SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR

THE ADVANTAGES WHICH

HIS ENLIGHTENED INSTRUCTIONS AS A TEACHER,

AND HIS UNWEARIED KINDNESS AS A FRIEND,

HAVE CONFERRED UPON

THE AUTHOR.

QUOD SPIRO, ET PLACEO, SI PLACEO, TUUM EST.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE origin of the present publication is sufficiently explained by the accompanying Documents, containing certain acts of the ROYAL COMMISSIONERS FOR VISITING THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF SCOTLAND, of whose liberal encouragement of Academic study it is the fruit, and of the Author's gratitude to whom he wishes it were a fit memorial. The Essay, though somewhat expanded in its dimensions by being relieved, so to speak, of the compressing force which was necessary to bring it within the compass prescribed by the terms of competition, is in all essential respects the same as when submitted to the Faculty of Arts. The Author now presents it to the world, rather in obedience to authority, than from any confidence he feels of its fitness to meet the public eye. From circumstances which he could not control, the period has been allowed to pass away, when the temporary interest excited by its history might have secured it some attention, independently altogether of its intrinsic

merits. On these it must now mainly rely; and the Author is deeply conscious how much it is likely to lose in the estimation of those who may have heard of it, by being thus subjected to the scrutiny of deliberate criticism, and tried no longer by a merely comparative standard. But it is right and just, perhaps, that a composition, which may hitherto have been too indulgently judged and too splendidly rewarded, should now be reduced in public opinion to its proper value, and be treated with a liberality more exactly proportioned to its real deserts.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.*

THE Author takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the Public for the favourable reception the first edition of his Essay has experienced. In the present reprint, without venturing to make any essential alteration, he has endeavoured to obviate some of the frequent proofs of haste and inexperience which both the diction and the printing of the original exhibited. He hopes also that by incorporating the Notes which stood at the end of the volume with the text, and accompanying the classical quotations with versions into English, he will be found to have made the work more manageable and more complete.

* [This Advertisement was drawn up by the author in contemplation of a second edition of his Essay.]

ON THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

OF

THE ATHENIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH the audacity of genius, the great painter Parrhasius once undertook to represent in a visible form the national character of Athens. It is hinted, however, by the author who mentions the attempt, that it could scarcely be called successful.[1] Nor

[1] The words of Pliny are the following: "Pinxit et Demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso; volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem; eundem inexorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia pariter ostendere." "It was an ingenious attempt of his to represent in a picture the Athenian Demos, in which he aimed at exhibiting him as at once capricious, passionate, unjust, inconstant, inexorable, merciful, compassionate, magnanimous, boastful, humble, warlike, and prone to fly." (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 10.)—De Piles (Cours de Peinture, 75), and Wieland (Aristipp. Werke, B. XXVIII. pp. 270-276), though they vary in the details, yet agree in the principle of supposing this portraiture of Demos to have been effected by an allegorical picture of various groups. This hypothesis, however, has obviously been adopted in order to diminish the difficulties of the attempt; and is opposed, in our humble opinion, to the whole spirit of the description, which naturally leads us to suppose that Parrhasius, whether he succeeded or not, at least intended to embody all the varied expressions which Pliny describes, in a single form. It appears from Pausanias (Attic, c. I.

was the failure wonderful: to paint Chaos is no easy achievement. The pen in such a case has this advantage over the pencil, that the former can give, in succession, those varied forms and aspects of things which the latter must crowd into a single delineation. But the extension of range must almost necessarily be purchased at the expense of unity; and the individual who is called to pourtray, by whatever means, a countenance so multiform in feature and expression, cannot but feel that the task must be as arduous as it may be interesting. The manifestations of Athenian character are so infinitely various, and many of them so intensely brilliant, that, amidst the dazzling confusion, the mind's eye loses for a season its power of distinguishing, and takes in nothing but the vague indefinite image of something very changeful, marvellous, and splendid. Hence we find that authors, in lack of more distinctive appellations, have usually had recourse to mere epithets of wonder in alluding to 'that extraordinary people,'—'that marvellous republic,'—'that miraculous city,'—'that most wonderful of all historical phenomena.'

It is, therefore, with the hope of an approximation merely to an adequate delineation of the Athenian character, but with the assurance that even such an ap-

p. 4,—c. III. p. 9-10), that there were single statues,—and why not, therefore, single figures in painting?—representative of Demos. See Stuart's Athens, vol. II. ch. 4, note on Plate 6. See also Meursii Atticæ Lection. I. 1. With regard also to the success of the undertaking, opinions have varied. Mr Campbell, in the third of his beautiful Letters to the Students of the University of Glasgow, observes that Parrhasius was generally supposed to have eminently succeeded in his arduous attempt. The word 'volebat,' however, in Pliny's account, seems to hint the contrary without much ambiguity.

proximation can scarcely fail to prove deeply interesting, that we now proceed to our appointed task.

PLAN OF THE ESSAY.

The title of the Essay calls our attention to two distinct topics: the Character, and its Causes. Of these the latter takes precedence in the order of nature, and it may contribute to distinctness if we give it precedence also in the order of treatment; premising, however, that, as the formation of all character is in a great measure carried on by the reaction of its own effects, and as the Athenian character in particular was moulded more by the consequences of its own early development than by any separate and extrinsic bias, it will be impossible to distribute the minor details of cause and effect, action and reaction, with minute accuracy under separate heads. We shall endeavour, therefore, in a general way,

I. To give a connected view of that system of influences, reaching from the origin of the nation to its maturity under Pericles, of which the Athenian character was the fruit; and,

II. To trace, with what minuteness our limits will allow, the prominent lines of the character itself, as it existed from that brilliant era to the dissolution of Athenian independence.

I. We proceed, therefore, in the first place, to trace that system of influences in which the peculiarities of the Athenian character originated, and which we may with sufficient propriety denominate its early education.

But before we attempt to treat in detail of the education of the Athenian people, it will be proper to enquire

what description of natural character that education had to work upon. Aware, however of the danger of too great minuteness on such a subject, we shall touch upon it very briefly and generally.

ORIGIN OF THE ATHENIANS.

The Athenians, then, according to the least presumptuous of their own traditions, had for the author of their race, Ion, a near descendant of the prince under whom the mythology represents the Universal Deluge as having happened, and who was preserved in that catastrophe to be the second founder of the species. Under this Ion, many of the learned have recognised Javan, or, as the name reads in unpointed Hebrew, *Iun*, from whom, in Scripture, the States of Greece are called 'the realms of Iun,' and Alexander the Great is prophesied of under the title 'king of Iun.'[1] But whatever may be thought of this curious coincidence of names,[2] it is plain from the sacred writings that the

[1] Daniel XI. 2, and VIII. 21. There is a minute propriety in the original of the former passage which is lost in our version. The Hebrew is מלכות יון, in the plural, answering much more exactly than our 'realm of Grecia' to the actual state of Greece, divided as it was into a number of separate sovereignties.

[2] n regard to the identity of Ion and Javan, the circumstances of probability are more minutely detailed in Bochart, Phaleg. III. 3, and Goguet de l'Origine des Lois, vol. I. p. 128, Ed. 1re. It were unfair, however, to conceal that there are some circumstances connected with the tradition of the Athenians, particularly the chronology assigned to the facts, which are not consistent with the exposition in the text. In Jodrell's Notes on the Ion of Euripides, the reader will find these difficulties minutely investigated, and ingeniously explained. Generally speaking, we may say that, in reference to events of such obscurity and antiquity, chronological difficulties are least of all to be regarded; and the obvious confusion in the one person of Deucalion, of two individuals far separated in

Greeks were in point of fact the descendants of Javan ;[1] whence our great epic poet, whose erudition was as accurate as his genius was sublime, has learnedly described the deities of Greece as

'The *Ionian* gods, of *Javan's* issue.'[2]

The reason of our mentioning here a fact of such remote antiquity is, that it enables us to form, at the outset, some general idea of the peculiarities of original character distinctive of the race from which the Athenians sprang. Ion, its founder, was connected with the last of those three great streams of migration by which the world seems to have been peopled ; the Shemitic, which colonized the east and south of Asia ; the Hammonian, which proceeded by the south-west of the same continent into Africa ; and the Japetian which, advancing by the north of Asia, and depositing the Scythian or Tartar tribes in its progress, finally overspread the countries of Europe. Among these great divisions of mankind there obviously existed a marked distinction of character. The first seems to have possessed a prone, simple, submissive spirit, susceptible without much difficulty of civilization up to a certain pitch, but easily duped by artifice, and prostrated by authority ; a character of which we see the results in those stupendous systems of despotic and sacerdotal power, immemorial prisons of the human

time and distinct in history,—one the survivor of the Universal Deluge, and the other a prince of Thessaly in whose time, perhaps, the great basin formed by the Thessalian mountains was burst through,—entitle us to draw the same inference in regard to his near descendant.

[1] Shuckford's Connect. B. III. Sir W. Raleigh's History of the World, vol. I. c. I. 8.

[2] Paradise Lost, I. 508.

intellect, erected in the East.[1] The second race of men appears to have been characterized by a similar temper of tameness and submission, but to have been, on the whole, inferior in the susceptibility of culture and refinement. The Japetian stock, on the contrary, of which the early Greeks were a branch, seems from its whole history to have been originally distinguished over both its brother-tribes by the possession of more enterprise of character, an intenser love of liberty, a greater versatility of talent, and a wider range of desire,—in short, a freer evolution of humanity, and a proportionally more extensive capacity of civilization.

EARLIEST CONDITION OF THE NATION.

Belonging to this parent stock, then, and participating to the fullest extent in all its favourable peculiarities, the Pelasgic tribes arrived in Greece.[2] That in their new settlements they first existed in the state of savages, is proved by the concurrent testimony of all antiquity, and especially by the master-piece of historical writing, the preliminary view of the early state of Greece with which Thucydides begins his 'universal possession.'[3] Yet, savages as they were, to them Europe was indebted for having brought

[1] Τὰ ἤθνη μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχήν· ἄθυμα δέ· διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ. (Arist. Polit. VII. 7.) "The Asiatic nations possess a genius acute, indeed, and susceptible of civilization, but without spirit or energy, whence they have all along been subject to arbitrary rule."

[2] Ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιστέρου τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ ἐυηθίης ἠλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον. (Herod. I. 60.)

[3] Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, Thucyd. I. 22; Cf. Pausan. VIII. 1; Plin. VII. 57; and Strabo. VII. p. 321, ed. Casaubon.

along with them from the slopes of Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian, the vine and the olive,—plants the importance of which in the advancement of the social culture was by the ancients esteemed so great, that the father of the vine and the inventress of the olive, Bacchus and Minerva, along with Ceres the patroness of husbandry, were worshipped among them as the great civilizers of mankind. It was on the plains beneath Hymettus and the yet nameless Acropolis, that these symbols of refinement found their most congenial soil, and that those families of colonists took up their chosen residence, which were distinguished by the highest degree of the free talent and susceptibility so characteristic of the race. That this is no unauthorised description of the Ionians or early Athenians,[1] is plain, not only from the direct attestation of ancient authors well informed in the antiquities of Greece,[2] but from the fact, that un-

[1] Though the denomination of Ionians was afterwards appropriated to the colonies on the Asiatic shore of the Ægean, there is no doubt that the Athenians were the original bearers of the name as well as the fountain of the race. When Homer, as quoted by Strabo, (p. 392, ed. Casaubon), says Ἐνὶ Δήλῳ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες, he obviously means by the latter the Athenians. The pillar erected by Theseus on the Isthmus had for its legend on one side, "This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia," and on the other, "This is not Ionia but Peloponnesus." (Plut. in Thes.) Herodotus speaks of the Κτίοι, ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων, and the Νάξιοι, Ἴωνες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. (VIII. 46.) "The Ceans, an Ionian nation descended from the Athenians." "The Naxians, Ionians sprung from the Athenians." Τὸ παλαιὸν, Strabo says distinctly, οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. (XIV. p. 679.) "Formerly the Ionians and Athenians were the same."

[2] Τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη, Δωριῆς, Αἰολῆς Ἴωνας· ὧν μικρῆς οὔσης διαφορῆς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἤθεσιν, κ. τ. λ. (Athen. XIV. p. 624, ed. Casaubon.) "For the Greeks are divided into three distinct races, distinguished by no inconsiderable differences of character."

der all varieties of situation, in Asia and Miletus, as well as in Attica and Athens, the Ionians were ever distinguished above the Doric and Æolian families in general flexibility and elegance. This fact is well illustrated in the distinct characters of the dialects spoken by the different tribes: the Ionian being remarkable for suavity, and the Attic for elaborate harmony, while the Doric—and the Æolic is still more liable to the charge—is well described by Bentley, as 'coarse and rustic, and always clouded with an obscurity.[1]

There are certain philosophers and experimentalists in education, who are unwilling to hear of such original and native distinctions of character as those we have described, either in individuals or in nations. But, after all that Helvetius and his followers have said of the omnipotence of circumstances in the formation of character, the opposite conclusion seems abundantly established by such considerations as are suggested in the following words of one whose name the members of the University which he adorned may be allowed to quote with a peculiar pride, as the greatest master of induction who has yet illustrated the science of the human mind. "That the different situations," says Mr Stewart, "into which men are thrown by the accidents of life would produce great diversities, even on the supposition that their original capacities were the same, is undoubtedly true; but it is surely pushing the conclusion too far to affirm that no original inequalities exist; when no proof from the fact can be produced of such an assertion, and when so strong an analogy as that of the natural disparities among

[1] Ἐχούσης τι καὶ ἀσαφὲς, says Porphyry, τῆς Δωρίδος διαλέκτου. See Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, etc., p, 317.

men in point of bodily advantages, leads to an opposite opinion. A farther argument for this may, I think, be deduced from the art of physiognomy, which, notwithstanding the exaggerated and absurd pretensions of some of its professors, seems to have a real foundation in the principles of human nature."[1] If argument, therefore, from the actual results and the analogy of bodily constitution, are to count for anything in the judgments which we form of the original endowments of mental character—surely, when we consider the fact that a growth of mind unrivalled in the history of the world sprang from a population of thirty thousand individuals, crowded within the walls of a single city,[2] and contemplate the perfection of human beauty beaming with the expression of internal harmony which the Athenian form exhibits as it stands yet full of mimic life upon the friezes of the Parthenon,—we shall feel ourselves entitled to affirm of the original character of the Athenians, that it was constitutionally distinguished by a more perfect organization of human nature than any other nation could ever boast of, a greater equilibrium of faculties, a greater range of susceptibilities, summed up in a more absolute general freedom of thought and agency, and qualifying its possessors for a more rapid and unlimited refinement.[3]

EDUCATION OF THE ATHENIAN CHARACTER.

So much for the nature and origin of that general peculiarity of character by which the Ionians were, even at their first settlement in Attica, prepared for entering on the path of improvement.

[1] Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. III. pp. 248–249.

[2] Mannert's Geographie des Griechenlandes, I. 17.

[3] Περὶ τὰς τίχνας ἐυφυίστατοι.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain the course and character of its education down to the period when it reached its adult age in the time of Pericles. This discussion we shall divide into two parts corresponding to what, in the case of an individual, we should term his general and his professional education; the first explaining the nature of the power of culture by which the humanity of the Athenian was trained; and the second describing that political progress by which their nationality was nourished. By *humanity*, in this use of the term we mean that system of powers and dispositions which belonged to the Athenians simply as men; by *nationality*, the sum of those peculiar feelings which distinguished them as members of a political society.[1]

We have seen the Athenian character in its embryo, —uncultivated as yet, and obscurely defined,—as it may be supposed to have originally appeared in Greece. It now depended on the nature of those first influences to which, from the conditions of its existence there, it was exposed, whether this tender germ was to be blasted or cherished, shrivelled into dust or expanded into blossom and fruit. The happier fate befel it. It was neither stunted by the necessary struggle of the human animal against the disadvantages of a hungry and ungenial climate, nor corrupted by the intermixture of races, nor stifled by being sown 'an age too late,' amidst the tangled and overspreading growth of antiquated institu-

(Isocr. Paneg. Oper. p. 46, ed. Stephan.) "Most happily formed by nature for civilization."

[1] See the distinction between what we call the humanity and the nationality, or what Sismondi terms the individual and the social force of a people, well explained in that author's Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, vol. I. pp. 417–419.

tions and settled opinions. All circumstances of this description, on the contrary, combined to quicken and invigorate its youthful growth, by an influence not the less powerful that its operation cannot be rendered very distinctly visible:

Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo.'

INFLUENCES OF CLIMATE AND SCENERY.

The ancient Greeks in general, and the Athenians in particular, had deeply, and not without reason, imbibed a persuasion that their country was one peculiarly favourable to the development of human nature.[1] The climate of Attica is much more moderate, equable, and healthy, than that even of the other parts of Greece, the air being uniformly more clear, dry, and genial, and less exposed to extremes or sudden changes.[2] And while this is true of the atmosphere of Attica in general, that which overhangs the city itself is particularly distinguished for its purity and salubrity.[3] The same recommendations which

[1] Arist. Polit. VII. 7, Isocr. Paneg., p. 44.—Ἡ θεὸς προτέρους ὑμᾶς κατῴκισεν, ἐκλεξαμένη τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γεγένησθε, τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὡρῶν προιδοῦσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἀνδρας οἴσει. (Plat. in Timæo.) "The goddess herself formed you into a community, having selected the spot on which you were produced in consequence of observing, from the delightful temperature of the seasons, that it would produce most ingenious men."

[2] The temperature of Athens seldom exceeds 90° Far; and as seldom sinks to the freezing point.

[3] Τοῦ δὲ τῆς πάσης Ἀττικῆς ἀέρος οὕτως ἔχοντος, ἄριστος καὶ καθαρώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπερέχων. (Aristid. Panath. p. 88, ed. Stephan.)

Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι,
Αἰὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
Βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς ἀιθέρος,
Ἔνθα τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν κατασπεῦσαι
Μυρίας ἀνίμων
Ἡδυπνόους αὔρας:
(Eurip. Med. 820.)

"Sons of Erectheus, brave and fair,
Whose glory is of ancient days,
Dwellers in bright transparent air,
Illumed by heaven's serenest rays,

belonged to the air of Attica characterized its kindred element of water, the pre-eminent excellence of which was such that an ancient connoisseur declares he could, at the first taste, distinguish that which had flowed from an Attic spring.[1] The soil is light, calcareous, and arid, in consequence of which the plain of Athens is very destitute of large wood, though it abounds in the fig, the olive, the vine, and the choicest flowering shrubs, its groves of which are inhabited by innumerable nightingales.[2] The interior riches of Attica, in mines of silver and marble, more than made up for the comparative sterility of its surface. The silver of Laurēum was the principal source of the Athenian revenue;[3] and the marble of Pentelicus, the 'Hymettiæ trabes'

Through which the Cyprian queen exhales,
The temperate breath of odoriferous gales."

[1] Οἷα δὴ χώρα φέρει
Διαφέροντα πάσης, Ἰσπόνικε, τῆς οἰκουμένης,
Τὸ μέλι, τοὺς ἄρτους, τὰ σῦκα,
Βοσκήματ', ἔριa, μύρτα,
Θύματα, τυρούς, ὕδωρ, διαφέρον ὥστε καὶ
Γνόιην ἂν εὐθὺς Ἀττικὸν πίνων ὕδωρ.
(Antiphanes ap. Athen. II. p. 43.)

—— What that region bears
Pre-eminent o'er all the earth besides,
Figs, honey, cattle, wool, bread, cheese, perfumes,
Sweet shrubs, and water chief, which but to taste
I'd know its fountain for an Attic spring.

Modern travellers describe the supply of water as scanty. See Dodwell, vol. II. c. 1; Clarke, vol. III. c. 14. This, however, is probably owing to the negligence of the inhabitants. See Clarke, vol. III. p. 569, note.

[2] See Quarterly Review, July 1820, Art. 'Modern Greece.'

Χῶρος δ' ὅδ' ἱερὸς, ὡς σάφ' εἰκάσαι, βρύων
Δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλου· πυκνόστιχοι δ'
Ἔσω καθ' αὐτὸν εὐστομοῦσ' ἀηδόνες.
(Soph. Œd. Col. 16–18.)

"The place is fraught with laurels, olives, vines,
A sacred grove; and rich-voiced nightingales,
Glance through its dim retreats on frequent wing."

[3] Herod. VII. 144. Xenoph. de Provent. Oper., p. 539. ed. Stephan.

of Horace, formed the most important material of Athenian art.

In regard to the peculiarities of what is strictly called the scenery of the country, though its effects on the inhabitants are usually included under the general phrase of 'the influence of climate,' we shall content ourselves with quoting a short but strikingly descriptive passage from an eloquent modern traveller: "The character of the landscape round the city," says Dr Holland, "is very peculiar. There is a certain simplicity of outline and colouring, combined with the magnificence of form and extent, which contributes much to this particular effect. It cannot be called a rich scenery, but one of its features is a sort of repose, which may be derived from the form of the hills, from their slopes into the plain, and from the termination of this plain in the placid surface of the gulf of Salamis; above all, perhaps, from the resting-point which the eye finds in the height of the Acropolis. Here, if anywhere, there is a certain 'genius loci' which gives its character and colouring to the whole, and renders the scenery of the place something which is ever *unique* to the eye and the recollection."

Such are the most prominent physical peculiarities of Attica, which, taken together, confer upon its climate a very peculiar character of mingled freedom and refinement, cheerfulness and grace. We need scarcely observe how perfectly this general effect of Athenian nature corresponds to what we know of Athenian life and art; and how strongly the correspondence proves a connection between the climate and the character of the people. To the reality of such a connection—whatever speculative philosophers may say of it—all who have actually looked

on that unrivalled landscape vie with each other in bearing testimony.[1] Hume, indeed, in his 'Essay on National Characters,' strenuously denies the reality of any such influence as that of climate in moulding the character of a people. No one, however, who reflects for a moment on the intimacy of the connection which subsists between the body and the soul, and the constant alternation of action and reaction which is going on between them, can reasonably refuse to admit that, however this influence may be checked and rendered imperceptible by more powerful moral causes, it must from its own nature be an operative energy. It is unfortunate for Hume's theory, that the proof of it which he draws from the opposite characters of the Bœotian and the Athenian, living, as he says, in the same climate, should be so flatly contradicted by the facts of the case. For all modern travellers agree with the ancient satirist who speaks of 'being born in the thick air of the Bœotians,'[2] that the atmosphere overhanging their fens and lakes[3] is exactly the opposite of that clear, pure, bracing air which sheds over Attica unchanging serenity, and has preserved to our days, in almost undiminished relief, marbles sculptured in the age

[1] "Whoever has viewed the landscape of Greece," says the Hon. Sylvester Douglas, "in the tints of a Mediterranean spring, will agree with me in attributing much of the Grecian genius to scenery and climate." (Essay on the Resemblance between the Ancient and the Modern Greeks.)

[2] "Bœotûm in crasso jurares aëre natum." (Hor. Ep. II. 1. 244.)

"One who had breathed, you might full safely swear,
From infancy the thick Bœotian air."

"Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici." (Cicero.)

[3] See especially the Hon. Sylvester Douglas's Essay, c. v., and Holland's Travels, c. xx.

of Pericles. And then, when he points us triumphantly to the contrast between the characters of those who live now and of those who lived of old beneath the same sky and on the same soil, this contrast, so far as it exists, only proves that the natural influence of climate may be more or less perceptible according to the circumstances in which it acts;[1] while the fact is, that the contrast exists to a much less striking degree than is alleged, and that even the bigoted Turk is known to be a more refined and humanized being in Athens than elsewhere. It therefore appears to us inconsistent neither with philosophy nor with facts, to say that the fine original constitution of the Athenians, placed beneath a pure and equable sky,—amidst a fresh exhilarating air, nightly resounding the thick-warbled melody of 'the Attic bird,'[2] —on a soil which by its light fertility neither exhausted the physical powers with want nor oppressed them with satiety, and which supplied from its interior treasures the most graceful materials of wealth and of art,—amid the scenery of varied hill and dale, rock and ravine, not loaded with the majesty of forests, yet feathered with an unrivalled luxuriance of flowers and elegant shrubs, and in continual view of the bright Egean's 'multitudinous laughter,'[3]—had received from Nature all the appliances

[1] Perhaps the practical doctrine of the influence of climate is nearly that expressed by Filangieri:— "Il clima puo influire sul fisico e sul morali degli uomini, come causa concorrente, ma mai come causa assoluta."

[2] "Where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes
the summer long." (Milton, Par. Reg. IV.)

These exquisite words are almost a translation of a beautiful line of Martial:—

"Multisonâ fervet sacer atthide lucus." (Lib. I. 54.)

[3] Ποντίων κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα. (Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 89.)

which she could furnish to refine, expand, and stimulate its powers, and to diffuse through all its susceptibilities one pervading spirit at least of animal vivacity.

PURITY OF BLOOD.

This fine constitution of theirs, thus happily situated, the Athenians were proud to maintain remarkably pure. Without giving undue importance to the wild tradition, which their national vanity afterwards led them to adopt along with the symbol of the golden grasshopper,[1] that they were αὐτόχθονες, sprung of the earth which they inhabited,[2] and that their blood had never been contaminated by the admixture of a more ignoble race, it seems certain that, from the earliest ages, the Attic tribe of colonists, amid the migrations and conquests which daily changed the face of Greece, retained in comparative security their independence, their original settlements, and their national integrity.[3]

"The multudinous laughter of the ocean waves."

[1] Aurea solemni comptum quoque fibula ritu,
Cecropiæ tereti nectebat dente cicadæ. (Virg. in Cir. 127, 128.)

[2] Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μοῦνοι δὲ ἰόντες οὐ μεταναίστοι Ἑλλήνων. (Herod. VII. 161.) "The Athenians, who glory in being the most ancient of nations, and who alone of all the Greeks are native to the soil."

λαὸν ἰὼ αὐτόχθονα
Κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν. (Eur. Ion. 29, 30.)

"Illustrious Athens, and her earth-born race."

Eodem innati solo quod incolunt, et quae illis sedes eadem origo est. (Justin, II. 7.) "Produced from the soil which they inhabit, and attached to their country as at once the original cradle and the constant home of their race."

[3] Hence the circumstance mentioned by Thucydides, that the Athenians were the first nation in Greece to give up the practice of wearing arms. Lib. I. 6. The fact of the early civilization of Athens is much dwelt upon in the panegyrical orations; such as, the Menexenus of Plato, Oper. tom. II. p. 238. ed. Serran.; and the Panegyric of Isocrates, pp. 46–48.

INFLUX OF EASTERN CIVILIZATION, AND FREE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS IDEA.

By this statement it is not meant that there were not individual foreigners occasionally admitted into the 'earth-born community.'[1] The reverse was the natural consequence of that very immunity from external violence which secured the substantial purity of Attic blood, and it is, therefore, the subject of frequent glorying to the Athenians themselves. It is a panegyric in which their eulogists delight to indulge, that during those early ages Athens was the sanctuary of Greece, where all political refugees, from whatever quarter, sought and found protection in their adversity.[2] It was to this circumstance, indeed, that the nation was indebted for the first impulse which roused it from the sloth of primeval barbarism. That impulse was the importation of eastern knowledge which Cecrops seems to have brought with him from Egypt;[3] and its activity was kept up by the constant intercourse of Athens with the colonies, which, in consequence of her geographical position, she had carried to the East,[4] as well as by the travels, first of the bards, and afterwards of the learned men of Greece, systematically directed to those regions of primitive refinement. In the transition, however, of Oriental civilization into Greece, it suffered a most remarkable

[1] Γηγενής σκηπτουχία, Lycophr. ap. Hesych. in voc. Γηγενής.

[2] See Thucyd. I. 2. Isocrat. Paneg. pp. 48, 53. Aristid. Panath. p. 21, ed. Stephan.

Εἰ τάς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας
Εἶναι, μόνας δὲ τὸν κακούμενον ξένον
Σώζειν οἵας τε καὶ μόνας ἀρκεῖν ἴσχειν.
(Soph. Œd. Col. 260–262.)

"Religious Athens,—she, beneath whose breast
Alone the afflicted exile findeth rest!"

[3] Apollodorus (III. p. 128) makes Cecrops to have been a native Athenian, but the uniform tradition of antiquity is against him.

[4] Thucyd. I. 12. Strabo, VIII. p. 383, ed. Casaubon.

revolution, which transformed it from the staple of a rigid monopoly into the subject of the freest of all free trades in intellect. With regard to the cause of this revolution, no historical information can now be procured; but we may be allowed to conceive that Cecrops, the first civilizer of Athens, had probably retired from Egypt, in disgust at that close system of institutions which there entrusted the keys of knowledge to a single jealous and tyrannical caste; and it was only natural for one who had left his country in the hope of finding liberty of mind as well as of person in the haunts of the Pelasgic savages, to give the knowledge which he brought the freest form of which it was susceptible. Be this as it may, so it was that the science, which in the East had been the exclusive inheritance of a privileged order, became in Attica the universal property of citizens, and so gave an impulse to the national character of the Athenians which it had never exerted on that of its original possessors.

FAVOURABLE ERA OF THE WORLD.

The Athenian character thus qualified by Nature to run a brilliant course, and placed by events at a forward starting-point in the career of civilization, enjoyed the further advantage of setting out in an auspicious era of the world. The Cecropidæ were subjected by the past to no weight of authority, no yoke of prejudice, no fetters of antiquated institutions, to check the excursive range of their powers. Unconfined to any fenced and beaten path, they were left free, in the sunny dawn of refinement, to choose at will the fairest or sublimest tracks they could discover; and pursued their course over a dewy and untrodden

earth, with the proud footstep of 'Life's morning-march.' 'The world was all before them where to choose;' and Nature, unobstructed in any of her operations, exhibited besides, more striking forms and aspects than it can present to us in this old age, both of Man and of the earth which he inhabits. To objects of the mental as well as of the bodily appetites may be applied the beautiful words of Lucretius, speaking of that youth of the universe:—

> 'Plurima tum tellus, etiam majora, ferebat:
> Multaque præterea novitas tum florida mundi
> Pabula dia tulit.' (De Rer. Nat. v. 940–942.)

> 'Of ampler number and more giant growth
> Were earth's first fruits; and many a birth divine
> That flowery freshness of the world produced.'

NATURE AND REFLEX INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY GREEK CIVILIZATION.

So far as we have hitherto traced the circumstances which modified the form of human nature exhibited in the Athenian character, we have confined our attention to those which were purely causes, and in no degree the produce of the character itself in its process of natural evolution. But these are the least important of the influences to be considered as affecting the formation of character. Mind is not a merely passive principle. Its vital energy, its germ of growth, is within itself. The fatness of the earth may nourish, and the dews of heaven refresh 'the tree that yieldeth fruit after its kind, but its seed is in itself upon the earth;' and according as that internal tendency assumes at first a natural or a constrained direction is the appearance of the perfect vegetable. So it is with the humanity, whether of an individual or of a nation. The very displays which it makes of itself

during the process of education become the most important of all causes in regard to its ultimate peculiarities. It is on this account that we reckon the early Greek civilization—though it be in some measure itself an exhibition of character, and an effect of previous circumstances—the principal topic to be handled in considering the formation of that particular moulding of humanity which the full-grown character of the Athenian people exhibits. We proceed, therefore, in pursuance of our object, to make some remarks on that civilization, both in regard to its component parts, and its peculiar qualities.

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

The first great step in the progress of Greek refinement was the invention of the Mythology. The origin of this remarkable system is one of those questions—of which there are so many connected with ancient literature—that have been discussed more as exercises of ingenuity in finding hidden meanings for the various phenomena, than with an honest view to the discovery of truth by tracing them to their principles in human nature. What we know historically on the subject is very slight.

The ultimate origin, however, of the Greek mythology, and the whole of Greek civilization, among the Eastern nations, is put beyond doubt both by ancient testimonies and by the remarkable affinity existing between the Oriental and the Greek superstition.[1] Herodotus tells us, that before the arrival of the Egyptian mythology in Greece, the natives worshipped gods without names, and

[1] Herod. II. 50–52. Sir William Jones' Asiatic Researches, I. 9.

hence we may almost certainly infer, without personality: something like the vague conceptions of the object of worship which the American savages have formed. The influx of Eastern mythology along with the early settlers gave form and body to these conceptions. The effect of this, however, was obviously not to preclude but to stimulate the exercise of Grecian imagination, which, during the long poetic age of Greece, had abundant leisure to mould and mature the mythologic scheme after its own fashion.

Of the principle on which, in point of fact, the system was erected, two general explanations have been given by authors who discuss this subject, one party of whom maintains it to be in all its parts a system of intentional allegory, while others consider it merely as a system of corrupted history. Nothing can be plainer from hearing both sides in this controversy, than that neither can be exclusively right; and that some more general system is necessary, that shall allow imagination, stimulated by all desires and curiosities, its full sweep in the creation of the Greek mythology, before we can find an explanation adequate to the phenomenon; a conclusion which is still more certainly verified from the imaginative air which the whole system wears, (a thing to be felt and not to be reasoned of,) than it can be by any particular argumentation. The truth is, that as the Greek mythology is confessedly the creation of poets, so it is better interpreted on the principles of poetry than on those of speculative ingenuity; and for our own part, we have no hesitation in tracing it directly to the communion of the imaginative mind with Nature, in those circumstances under which we have already described the Athenians as lead-

ing their early life.[1] This theory we hold to be the most obviously true, just because it is the least obviously ingenious, and has its foundation on nothing but the most ordinary facts and principles of the human mind. From their fine constitution susceptible of the most vivid impressions,—inhabiting a land which, more than any other, was characterized by variety of interest, and 'in which Nature appeared constantly in action, because constantly differing from herself,'[2]—thrilling in every limb with the pulses of new emotion,—and regarding, with the mingled delight and awe of a child's first spectacle, the great theatre and drama of the world,—the Greeks must have felt, on first awaking from their trance, as if they had dropped, they knew not whence, into a world of marvels and of mysteries, and must have been overwhelmed with a strange conflict of incoherent sentiments, as they perceived the various aspects, and inexplicable relations, and unexpected transitions of the universe around them. The first impulse of such a state of feeling would be to justify itself by referring its excitement to a sufficient cause. In that age the discovery of the true system of the world lay far beyond the reach of the inexperienced mind; and the only power that could fill up the blank was Imagination. She, laying the foundation of her superstructure on the scanty fragments of knowledge which could then be gleaned from the surface of life, and aided by the influx of mythological materials from Egypt and the East, proceeded, by the power of her innumerable spells,—by unfolding analogies, embodying metaphors, impersona-

[1] This is substantially the account given by Hume in his Natural History of Religion, and by Gibbon in his Essai sur l'Etude de la Literature.

[2] Voyage d'Anacharsis, Introd. I.

ting properties, deifying the dead, painting the invisible, and materializing the spiritual,—to rear, in the Grecian mythology, a complex system of causes corresponding to the complexity in the system of effects by which the mind had been confounded.

The distinguishing characteristic of the religion thus created by the free operation of the human faculties, was naturally the freedom and the fulness of the display which it contained of human nature.[1] It sought the causes of all being and all change, in moving principles similar to those which operate in human breasts; and in doing so, it seems to have had no principle of selection, either metaphysical or moral; whatever was palpable in man, it made ideal in the divinity. It caught up the fragments of human nature as they offered themselves, and throwing them at random into the kaleidoscope of poetry, amused itself with shaking them into all possible combinations, and then fell down to adore the multitude of fantastic yet attractive forms which emerged, illuminated by strange lustre, out of the mass of originally rude and unsightly materials. And that the service might answer to the doctrine, the mythological system was connected with a ritual, which, by its freedom, or, to speak more decisively, its libertinism, breathed of the climate and the age,—the climate of bright skies and voluptuous air, the age of youthful fancy and undisciplined propensities. Every thing beautiful was holy; every thing pleasant to man was acceptable to the gods; and the whole devotion of Greece was just the indulgence of all agreeable sensations. This general spirit of the an-

[1] 'Ανθρωποφυέας νόμισαν τοὺς θεούς, (Herod. I. 131). 'Their divinities were formed on the model of human nature.'

cient religion has been finely expressed by an illustrious poet of another country, in an exquisitely beautiful though somewhat heathenish poem addressed by him to 'The Gods of Greece.' We shall here take the opportunity of illustrating and embellishing this discussion, by attempting to translate one or two stanzas descriptive of the gay, unreasoned, youthful freedom of the system.[1]

When o'er the form of naked Truth
The Muse had spread her magic veil,
Creation throbbed with life and youth,
And feeling warmed the insensible.
Then Nature, formed for Love's embrace,
The earth in brighter glory trod;
All was enchanted ground, each trace
The footstep of a God.

But Nature now, undeified,
Unweeting of the joys she gives,
Unconscious of her former pride,
And of the soul that in her lives,
Regardless of her maker's praise,
And dead to human sympathy,
Like a dull pendulum, obeys
The law of gravity.

Your gay religions knew no sadness;
They banished each austere emotion;
What bosom could but throb with gladness,
When gladness was the best devotion?
Whate'er was sacred then was fair;
No pleasure feared the eye of God,
Where roamed the blushing Muses, where
The Graces still abode.

Your temples smiled like palace-halls;
And there ye held your dazzling court

[1] 'Die Götter Griechenlands.' Schiller's Gedichte, I. 177.

On many-wreathed festivals,
Midst thundering cars and hero-sport;
And oft the sweet soul-breathing sound,
Of dance begirt your altars fair,
Each brow with bright love-garlands bound,
Deep-wreath'd in dewy hair.

It is thus that Schiller gives expression to his fond enthusiasm for these graceful and licentious fables—the gay and voluptuous ritual of ancient Greece.

A religion such as this, common though it were to all the Grecian states, was obviously of a character peculiarly congenial to that of the Athenians, and hence they are acknowledged, by all antiquity, to have been its first teachers to mankind. Their soil did not indeed give birth to many of those individuals among the mythical bards, such as the Thracian Orpheus, who were accounted the first prophets and interpreters of the gods; though Musæus, one of the great fathers of the system, whom Virgil describes as leading the choir of 'pii vates' in the Elysian paradise, is recorded to have been a native of Athens.[1] But they were the first who gave this religion a national establishment, and thus invested it with an influence more direct in the formation of national manners; an influence, the reality and power of which may be seen in many circumstances connected with their history. The mythic poetry on which the religion was founded, always maintained an unrivalled popularity at Athens. The oracular verses of its seers were there

[1] The author has not been able to discover the ancient authority on which this statement rests, but it is confidently made by Dr Gillies in his History of Greece, c. VI. note 10. Perhaps he refers to the passage of Pausanias: Τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ᾄδειν καὶ ἀποθανόντα γήρᾳ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. (Pausan. Attic.)

held in peculiar veneration ;[1] its services celebrated with peculiar splendour,[2] and its festivals multiplied in unexampled accumulation ;[3] the holiest of all its mysteries were observed within the Athenian territories ;[4] and the most august of all its temples, the most adorable of all its idols, were monuments of the genius and devotion of the Athenian people.

The first great influence, then, connected with the progress of early Greek civilization, to which Athenian genius was subjected, consisted in the action and re-action between the creative mind and that apotheosis of human nature which it invested with the dignity and power of a national religion. The nature and direction of such an influence are not difficult to perceive. Its immediate tendency was, not only to remove at once all those checks to the excursiveness of human imagination and to the freedom of human passions which it is usually the province of religion to impose, but to transform the whole force of the religious sentiments into one great motive for giving the freest and most unlimited scope to that humanity on earth which the Greeks enthroned as divinity upon Olympus. It was an influence, in one word, tending with the power of a religion to produce and cherish universal genius and universal emotion; and falling upon a national spirit strongly predisposed, as we have seen, to the reception of impulse by the bold, gay, youthful character of its original existence, was likely to create a liberty and an intensity elsewhere unknown in the exercise of all power and susceptibility.

[1] Aristoph. Eq. 960, et seq.

[2] Plato. Alcib. II. tom. II. p. 148, ed. Serran.

[3] Xen. De Rep. Athen.

[4] The Mysteries of Eleusis.

National Poetry.

This religious impulse was soon followed up in the same direction, and in a form which came yet more directly home to men's business and bosoms, by the next great influence which the advancing civilization of Greece evolves, that of the Heroic Age and Poetry.

In the natural progress of things, imagination began to direct itself from the antiquities of the universe to the antiquities of Man; and, as it had before exalted the powers of Nature into gods, now magnified the race of primeval men into demigods. It was necessary to have an age of heroes to interpose between the era of mythology and that of ordinary life: something to break the suddenness of the transition from the deified powers and immortal shapes of the first poetry to the commonplace aspects and agencies of human society. The Muse, accordingly, who loves to meditate amid the twilight of past time, and to frame beautiful creations out of the clouds of antiquity, was summoned to fill up the interval between gods and men with a race of godlike men, authors of godlike deeds.[1] Nor were the materials scanty with which she was to work, nor the quarry far to seek. Greece had been the scene of events well calculated to stimulate the poetic mind, a theatre on which all the powers and passions of men had been busily engaged in action and in conflict,—action and conflict which from the untutored simplicity of the age had been intensely and fearfully dramatic. According to the

[1] The affinity between the conception of the gods and the heroes of ancient Greece, is strikingly proved by the epithets which Homer uses in eulogizing his various heroes: *διοτρεφέες, δῖοι, διοειδέες, ἀντίθεοι, θεοῖς ἴσοι, κ. τ. λ.*

universal, and therefore the natural process of barbarous colonization, the Pelasgic hordes which peopled Greece had divided themselves into a vast number of small communities, trifling in extent and physical resources, but each sensitively jealous of its own dignity and independence, and united only in common antipathy to the Asiatic barbarian. It is easy to see how this state of things should give origin to that fervour, both of mutual rivalry against each other, and of united enterprise against the common enemy, of which the war of Thebes and that of Troy are respectively the most memorable examples; and how this rivalry and enterprise, in an age when soldiers were something more than machines, and the moral energy of a warrior was a superior consideration to his material value, would call into action an extraordinary force of human power and passion. Hence it is that the heroic age of Greece has formed the richest mine of tragedy in the history of Man; and that the whole scene, in fact, produces on our mind the effect of one great tragedy, representative of the conflict between free will and destiny, and of which the moral is

> ——— To be weak is miserable,
> Doing or suffering.[1]

Now it must be admitted that Athens, though she produced Theseus, the most celebrated character next to Hercules of the whole heroic age, was exempted by the peculiarities of her situation from participating in the actual heat of this excitement, to the same extent as the Doric and the Æolic tribes; and employed the leisure time, which was thus afforded her, much more happily

[1] Par. Lost, I. 157.

in cultivating the arts of civil and domestic comfort.[1] The reflex influence, however, which the conflicts of the heroic age were calculated to produce, as displays of human nature, seems to have been imbibed by the Ionians with greater interest and entireness than by those who took a more active share in the performance; just as the moral effect of a powerful drama is apprehended more clearly and felt more strongly by the spectators than by the actors. The proof of this statement is found in the fact that, when out of the memorials of that strange era the mighty visions of the Heroic Poetry were formed, it was in the Ionian speech she uttered her spells, and on the Athenian people they fell with greatest potency. For in regard to this magnificent literature, the Ionian race was distinguished beyond all other tongues and tribes by having produced THE POET. The seven cities which contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer were, with few exceptions, Athens and her colonies;[2] and it is plain, from the naturalness which pervades his poetry, that the character of his country must have been throughout imbued with the electricity of that genius which lightened forth so bril-

[1] In the cultivation of these arts the Athenians are acknowledged by all antiquity to have been the first of European nations. (Justin. II. 6.) For details see Goguet de l'Origine des Lois, vol. II.

[2] Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ. *Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου (ποιήσεως) μνησθῆναι, μετέχει καὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἡ πόλις, οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς ἀποίκου πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ φωνὴ σαφῶς ἐνδείκνυται.* (Aristid. Panath. p. 83.) "If the poetry of Homer is to be taken into account, then in regard to this distinction as well as others, the city claims some portion of credit, not only because he was a native of one of her colonies, but because the dialect he uses is plainly derived from her."

liantly in him, and that the poet must have sung to a believing people: whence the name they give him, Ὅμηρος, 'the witness.'[1] Poetry, indeed, from the nature of the case, must in that age have operated on the minds of men with an intenseness of effect to us not easily conceivable.[2] We find verse, at this period, exercising the same sway over the minds of the Athenians and of the Greeks at large, that was afterwards maintained by eloquence. Orpheus, Amphion, and their minstrel brethren subdued Nature by the charms of melody, and erected cities by the magic of the lyre.[3] The politician legislated in verse; the sage moralized in numbers.[4] Till the age of Solon, verse was the only language, and poetry the only organ of civilization.[5] Nor was it till twenty Olympiads

[1] Such is the derivation of the name adopted by the younger Schlegel, in his History of Literature. The ordinary one,

"*Blind* Melesigenes, *thence* Homer called,"

is a burlesque on etymology.

[2] The principle of this statement is ingeniously illustrated by an able writer of the day:—

"The effect of the first works of imagination among a people, imperfect as they must necessarily be, is immense. All deficiencies are supplied by the susceptibility of those to whom they are addressed. We all know what pleasure a wooden doll, which may be bought for sixpence, will afford to a little girl. No grown-up man takes half so much delight in one of the incomparable babies of Chantrey. In the same manner, savages are more affected by the rude compositions of their bards than nations more advanced in civilization by the greatest masterpieces of poetry." (Edinburgh Review, vol. XLVII. p. 11.)

[3] Hor. Ep. ad Pison. 391.

[4] Thus the maxims which have descended to us, stamped with the names of the seven Wise Men, are obviously mere fragments of didactic verse.

[5] —— σκέψαι γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
Ὡς ἀφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναῖοι γεγένηνται.
Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι·
Μουσαῖος δ' ἰάσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς· Ἡσίοδος δὲ
Γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους·
ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος

after the The Lawgiver, that poetry was finally superseded, as a practical literature, by prose; that the former passed into a luxury, while the latter was employed as a necessary of life. If, therefore, the Scottish patriot had reason for ranking the influence of national ballads upon the character of a people above that of legal enactments, what limits shall we set to the maxim when the ballads of which we speak are the rhapsodies of Homer, and their influence for centuries unopposed by any uncongenial literature?

It is obvious, then, that the heroic poetry of Greece deserves to have a high place among the circumstances which formed the early education of human nature among the Athenians. It is obvious, moreover, that its general tendency was of the same description as that of the mythology before illustrated. For the great moral characteristic of the Homeric poems—by which alone we can judge of the other productions of that age—is nothing but the free unbiassed display which they contain of human nature. The genius of the poet has by all ages been felt as something more universal than individual, and his sympathies as human rather than Greek, so that his mighty song has come to be regarded as the very epic of mankind, the universal mirror of ennobled humanity.[1] And thus it happened that the spirit of the

Ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ἴσχει, πλὴν τοῦθ', ὅτι χρήσσ' ἰδίδαξεν,
Τάξεις, ἀρετὰς, ὁπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν.
(Aristoph. Ran. 1028–1084).

"Observe how much illustrious bards have shed o'er life of good.
First Orpheus framed the mystic rites, and checked the thirst of blood;
Musæus spake of oracles, and balmy arts of health;
Hesiod of seasons and their fruits, of toil and rustic health;
And godlike Homer—whence had he his honour and his fame,
But that with master-skill he taught the hero's glorious game?"

[1] On this universality of Ho-

heroic age, embodied in the national poetry of Athens, was directly calculated to carry forward the impulse given by the national religion to the free, perfect, harmonious evolution of all the parts of human nature; that is, to universal genius and passion, as the grand characteristics of the humanity contained in the Athenian character.

Now then, to sum up the influence of the religious and the heroic poetry on the national character of the Athenians, we may use the words of Hegesias in another and a truer sense than his own, 'Attica is the creation of gods and ancestral heroes.'[1] These in fact constitute the peculiar elements in the early Grecian civilization, which, taken by themselves, were calculated to have much influence in forming a peculiar national character. The particulars of the further progress of civilization among the Greeks, such as the transition from the age of poetry to that of prose, the gradual invention and improvement of arts, the accumulation of scientific observations and knowledge, afford a mass of details very similar to those which are common to the history of every advancing civilization, and, therefore, are not, from any thing distinguishable in the data themselves, likely to

mer's genius, see Gisberte Cuperi Apotheosis Homeri ap. Poleni Thesaur. in which the celebrated ancient sculpture executed by Archelaus of Priene, and representing the arts and sciences doing sacrifice to Homer, is illustrated with a profusion of erudition. See also a fine medal of Homer with the legend, Ἐξ οὗ μὲν πάντες ποταμοί, represented on the title-page of Geddes on the Composition of the Ancients.

Κορυφὴ μὲν οὖν ἁπάντων καὶ σκοπὸς, ἐξ οὗ πως πάντες· ποταμοὶ, καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα, καὶ πᾶσαι πρῆναι δικαίως ἂν Ὁμήρου λίγοιτο. (Dionys. Halicarn. Synthes. Onomat. 24.)

[1] Ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ θεῶν ἐστι κτίσμα καὶ προγόνων ἡρώων. (Ap. Strabon. IX. p. 396.)

afford any general principle much worthy of notice as a peculiar influence moulding the peculiar character of the Athenians. Instead, therefore, of entering into what would be a mere historical detail of individual facts—from which, in that form, it would be difficult to extract general principles greatly to our present purpose—we shall seek the general result of the whole process in what became the established system of Athenian education. For it is, in all cases, the character of the popular institute of education which forms the truest index of the impression produced by the advancement of knowledge on the popular mind, as it is the very means by which the individual is trained to think and to feel in harmony with that mind.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

'Music for the mind and gymnastics for the body,' is the summary which Plato gives of the popular institution of education at Athens, transmitted from immemorial antiquity.[1] This music, in the wide sense in which the term was used by the ancients, comprehended all literature that was connected with harmony, and so placed under the guardianship of the

[1] Τίς οὖν ἡ παιδεία; ἢ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν βελτίω τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ἠυρημένης· ἔστι δέ που ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ σώμασι γυμναστική, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ μουσική. (Plat. de Rep. II. tom. II. 376.) "What system of education then should be recommended? For my part I should imagine it difficult to discover one better than that which was invented ages since, and which may be summarily described as consisting of gymnastics for the body and music for the soul." This system the philosopher has largely expounded, in the Second and Third Books of the Republic, and the Seventh Book on the Laws. The English reader will find a spirited sketch of Athenian education in the Introduction to Mitchell's Aristophanes.

Muses. But in Athens this was the case more or less with all literature whatever; and accordingly we find Plato describing at length, as parts of musical education, mythology, poetry, geometry, arithmetic, melody, astronomy, dialectics. Still, however, it was the music more strictly so called,—melody, and poetry expressed in melody,—which gave the peculiar character, as it did the appropriate name, to this branch of education. The chaunted poetry of Homer in particular formed its most prominent part. His works in truth were the universal text-book of mental education, the encyclopædia of all mental knowledge, from which generation after generation was instructed in language, eloquence, religion, tradition, geography, politics.[1] We cannot, therefore, wonder that among a people so full of mind as the Athenians, trained by a civilization in its character and its form so thoroughly poetical, and especially under the impression of a lyre so resistless as that of Homer, music, in its antique signification, should have had so prominent a place allotted to it in the course of youthful discipline. Nor, knowing as we do the importance which music, even in its more vulgar and limited sense, may assume in the estimation of those whom nature has qualified with an unusual instinct of melody, can we be surprised at the station which it occupied in the regard and the educational system of a people which, as a people, was more

[1] Plat. de Rep. x. tom. II. p. 606. Thus Niceratus, in Xenophon's Banquet, (Oper. p. 514,) professing himself a universal teacher, quotes Homer as his example and text-book. And Pliny, discoursing on agriculture, (H. N. XVII. 5,) takes occasion to refer to Homer under the sublime title 'Fons ingeniorum Homerus.' 'Homer the fountain of genius.'

naturally musical than any other on record,—the nation for whose 'polished and religious ears'[1] the 'melodious thunder' of Demosthenes was elaborated, and the miraculous language of Greece was cultivated to its last exquisite Attic perfection. Nor are the causes less obvious which recommended the bodily or gymnastical part of education to the place it occupied in the education of the Athenians. Their fine organization was pervaded with motive power; a clear health enlivened all its functions; the influence of the pure air of Attica was elasticity in every limb; the importance of the fleet foot and the strong arm in ancient warfare connected the most inspiring ideas of martial glory with the palæstra; their traditions of ancient times were crowded with the praises of physical strength in their demigods and heroes; and athletic accomplishments were the merits on which Greece in her Olympic assembly lavished her most spirit-stirring tokens of honour, in praise of which her lyre awoke its loftiest tones of eulogy.[2]

Now, in order to judge rightly of a system of education which may at first view appear to us extremely contracted and superficial, we must recollect that the Athenians contemplated the object of education under a considerably different light from that in which we regard it, but one exactly accordant with what we have endeavoured to show was the whole spirit of their national culture. It was not directly either knowledge or morality which they sought to inculcate into the youthful mind. The one great purpose for which their discipline was framed was the evolution of human nature,—the

[1] Aures teretes atque religiosæ. (Cic. Orat. IX.)

[2] See the Odes of Pindar, *passim*.

exercise of its faculties,—the cultivation of its susceptibilities both of body and mind. It was intended to give a man possession of himself, and in himself of a free man with all his powers about him and all at his command; to qualify him for acting vigorously and enduring resolutely whatever might betide; to infuse into his mind the unlimited consciousness of a free thinker and a free agent. In this point of view, the system of Athenian education, containing as it were an epitome of the early culture of Greece, was admirably fitted to serve its end. To this effect its simplicity and its unity contributed in no slight degree. It is a remark worthy of Montesquieu's sagacity that, while among us every individual passes through three distinct and often contradictory educations, the education of school, the education of home, and the education of the world, the ancients—and the remark is particularly true of the Athenians—were trained from first to last upon one uniform principle.[1] It may hence be conjectured with what entireness the effect of the national discipline passed into the national mind of Athens, and with what justice we rank it, considered even as a separate influence, one of the most efficacious in that general system of causes by which the Athenian character was moulded.

IDENTITY OF PRINCIPLE IN THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CULTURE.

But the efficacy of this system of education in creating a truly national character depends less on any detailed peculiarities of its own, than on its general conformity with the great tendency of early Greek civilization.

[1] Esprit des Lois, IV. 4.

This identity of principle between the education of the individual and that of the nation, seems to us one of the most striking circumstances by which the Grecian is distinguished from all other processes of social culture in regard to its influence on the national mind.[1] Among the other systems of original civilization we find, in Egypt and India, the means of mental cultivation so distributed according to the differences of caste, under the tyranny of a jealous priesthood, that the development of popular bears no proportion to that of individual character. The different orders of men are at least as widely distinguished from each other as different nations in ordinary cases; while the general features that are common to all the ranks are comparatively so few as scarcely to constitute any thing deserving the name of a character. The same effect has been produced among modern nations by a different cause,—that division of labour on which their social system is founded. Civilization, in modern times, has grown to such a magnitude, and ramified itself into such detail, that no intellect is large enough to comprehend the whole, and no life is long enough to trace out the minutiæ of any considerable portion. The overgrown system, therefore, has been portioned-out among different individuals and classes of men, of whom each has a separate department to observe and to cultivate.[2] The effect of this arrangement has been, in a great measure, to destroy that uniformity of views and sympathy of

[1] See the distinct characters of the different civilizations which the world has undergone, admirably delineated in Douglas's Advancement of Society, Part First; a work resembling in more than title the Advancement of Learning.

[2] See Ferguson on Civil Society, Part v. Sect. 3, 4.

feelings which gives a definite and palpable consistence to national character; so that, in our day, it is almost impossible to sketch the portrait of a people without running into the extreme either of insipidity or of caricature. But at Athens there were no such marked distinctions of professional pursuit or professional character. Every citizen was educated on the same principle as another, and all on the same principle as the nation in general. The multitude of slaves, who existed in every Grecian state, made it possible for the citizens to live without regular professions, and thus freely to cultivate and employ all their personal energies. The action of the national spirit was kept up, not, as among us, by the indirect and complex relative agency of many distinct interests and various characters, but by the direct contributions of multifarious talent from every separate citizen. The nation was then a great *individual*—a collective *man*—and so possessed beyond any modern people of a definite individual character, a perfect human idiosyncrasy.[1]

INDIGENOUS GROWTH OF GREEK CIVILIZATION.

There is another circumstance in the general process of Athenian civilization, that deserves to be remarked as having indefinitely augmented its efficacy upon the national character. That circumstance is its having been of indigenous and original growth; and it consti-

[1] This distinction between ancient and modern civilization is beautifully expounded by a philosopher not unworthy of the chair he occupied in our University, Dr Adam Ferguson. Essay on the History of Civil Society, Part I. Sect. 5. "Like mathematicians who study the Elements of Euclid, but never think of mensuration, we read of societies, but do not propose to act with men; we repeat the language of politics, but feel not the spirit of nations."

tutes another peculiarity by which it is strikingly distinguished from the mental culture with which we are familiar in modern times. Our civilization is in a very small degree indeed of native produce. It is composed of elements contributed from all other ages and all other countries. We invent little, and learn much. The arts are cultivated, the progress of the species is advanced by 'here a little and there a little;' people borrowing from people, each after each 'augments its small peculiar,' till an equilibrium is established among them all; and, as far as character is connected with civilization, there is formed a general character for the civilized world, but scarcely a national character for any single people. General eminence excludes pre-eminence. At Athens all was different. It must be confessed, indeed, that what we have described in regard to the modern commonwealth of nations applies, in some degree, to the body of the republics which composed the Greek confederation. They generally shared in that mental culture which formed the national education of Athens; and, at an early period, several of them seem to have far outstript her in turning the circumstances of their situation to account for the purposes of their own aggrandizement. Hence to the latest times there continued to exist a certain community of character among the Grecian tribes, originating, without doubt, in the identity of their early education. But, in the progress of things, a distinction occurred in favour of Athens, which made her, as it were, the heiress of the whole Greek civilization. The division—which was completed about the time of the Persian war—into the Doric and Ionian, or oligarchical and democratical

factions,[1] virtually resolved Greece into Sparta and Athens, which were respectively the heads of the two opposing interests. But Sparta had voluntarily chosen to resign her share in that free, harmonious, and full evolution of human faculty and susceptibility to which the series of civilizing influences in early Greece so powerfully tended; and had subjected herself, on the contrary, to a hard, rigid, monotonous system, expressly formed for repressing the efforts of human nature in all directions but one, that of martial accomplishment. Thus, in her struggles to wrest from Athens the palm of military ascendancy, she allowed her rival to appropriate without question the laurels and the wreaths of universal genius. This ambition was encouraged at Athens by the enlightened policy of the three great men, to whom, more than to all besides, she was indebted for her national character; Solon, who by his laws patronized literature, and made the education of the people an object of legislative provision;[2] Pisistratus, who had not

[1] Τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν· αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις, οὕτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διειλήφασιν. (Isocrat. Paneg. p. 44.) "Of the Greeks, some are dependent upon us, and others subject to the Lacedæmonians,—an arrangement which is the natural consequence of the different forms of government by which different states respectively administer their affairs." It is worth while to remark the art of the orator in the selection of the prepositions by which he describes the relation of their factions to their heads, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις· "the one dependent upon us, the other subject to the Lacedæmonians." (Cf. Isocr. Panath. pp. 243–244; Thucyd. I. 18; III. 82, *et passim.*) The systematic application of this principle to explain the revolutions of Grecian affairs, is the great merit of Mitford's work as a philosophical history.

[2] The law which Solon enacted, binding children to the support of their parents if they fell into destitute circumstances, was enforced only on those who, when children,

only the merit of collecting into their present noble completeness[1] the scattered rhapsodies of Homer, but was the first politician on record to provide for the popular illumination by the institution of a public library;[2] and Pericles, the second Pisistratus,[3] the great object of whose peace administration was the encouragement of all liberal arts and elegant accomplishments. Thus what might have been the common inheritance of Greece became the private property of Athens. The Panhellenic was transformed into the Panathenaic Minerva. The liberal gifts of Nature to Hellas became distinctive features of character to Athens, and made her a centre of attraction for all the genius and civility of her sister-tribes. The light which Nature had originally made lambent over the land, like that which illuminated the earth on the three first days of its being, was now concentrated into a single orb, and Athens took her luminous seat alone,—a sun sphered unapproachable in 'the brightest heaven of invention.'

With this remark we must conclude our expositions in regard to the nature of that education by which, in the youth of the Athenian people, its humanity was

had received from them a liberal education, according to their circumstances. (Vitruv. IV. Præf. Plut. in Solon.)

[1] Τὸν μίγαν ἰν βουλῇ Πισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον πρῶτος ἀνεκάθηρε καὶ ἐπεμέλησε. (Antholog. IV. 4.)

[2] Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum præbendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus. (Aul. Gell. VI. 17.) "Pisistratus the tyrant is said to have first established at Athens a collection of books on literature, intended for the public perusal."

[3] The extraordinary resemblance of these two great men was not left unimproved as a subject of political gossip and satire by the populace and comedians of Athens. (Plut. in Pericl. Valer. Max. VIII. 9.

trained, and the mode in which the whole spirit of that education was transfused with such force and entireness into the national genius; an education, of which the general peculiarity was its tendency to encourage in the character of this peculiar people of Nature an absolute freedom of mind and will, a full and unconstrained evolution of all the talents and all the susceptibilities of the human constitution. The actual results of this training upon the matured character of Athens we shall hereafter be able to perceive. But, in the meanwhile, having said so much of the civilization by which her humanity or individual energy was cultivated, we must speak—though more briefly than the importance of the subject demands—of the political progress by which her nationality or social energy was cherished and unfolded.

POLITICAL EDUCATION — GOVERNMENT.

The government of a people is, without question, the most powerful of all single causes in moulding its character. "Political constitution," as Isocrates says, "is the soul of a political body."[1] It will master and control the influence of all other principles upon the national mind, if its spirit be inconsistent with theirs; and, if coincident, will invest them with a power of tenfold their intrinsic energy. The latter was the case at Athens. For the same scorn of limitations which was the characteristic of the Athenian civilization was the principle of the Athenian polity. It should seem as if, while the Pelasgic savages yet roamed over Parnes and Lycabettus in a

[1] Πᾶσα πολιτεία ψυχὴ πόλεώς ἐστι. (Isocrat. Panath. p. 261.) It is difficult to express, in English, the relation between πολιτεία and πόλις, on which the epigrammatic turn of the Greek maxim depends.

state of wild nature,[1] they had the seeds sown within them of that love of liberty, or rather hatred of restraint, by which they were ever afterwards distinguished. Hence it happened that, when they at length submitted themselves to regular government, as it was their own voluntary act, the result neither of force as happens in the case of national subjugation, nor of those natural and unwilled tendencies which gradually out of the system of patriarchal authority built up the Oriental despotisms, the constitution of their state though monarchical,[2] was, from its earliest age, remarkably liberal and free. From all the facts which can be ascertained in relation to the Cecropian monarchy,[3] it is plain that the royal preroga-

[1] Ἀυτοβωτοὶ, ἔρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, εἴρηται δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸ λύκοις πλησίον. (Hesych.)

Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων. (Pausan. Attic. c. XXXII.)

[2] Τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη. (Arist. Polit. I. 2.) "Originally the free towns were governed by monarchs as foreign nations are to this day." (Cf. Plat. de Legg. III. tom. II. p. 680.) Omnes antiquæ gentes regibus quondam paruerunt. (Cic. de Legg. III. 3.) All ancient nations were at one time or other subject to monarchical government.

[3] See the whole mass of traditions on this subject collected with infinite learning and labour by Meursius in the Thesaurus Antiq. Græc.; a good summary of them will be found in Goguet. If we may infer any thing in regard to Athens from the representations which Homer gives of other heroical monarchies, we might quote as an authority for the statement in the text, the remarkable line in which he terms the royal authority of Phæacia, 'the dignity which the people had bestowed:'

Γέρας ὅ,τι Δῆμος ἔδωκεν.
(Hom. Odyss. VII. 150.)

In like manner we find the Thebans and Corinthians in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, electing their own kings:—

—Τῆσδέ γ' ἀρχῆς οὕνεκ' ἦν ἐμοὶ πόλις
Δωρητὸν, οὐκ αἰτητὸν, εἰσεχείρισε.—
(383.)

"The monarch's sceptre which, unasked by me,

tive was exceedingly limited; that the king was rather the leader than the sovereign of his people; and that to them belonged the great mass of practical power. By the arrangements of Theseus, the most celebrated of all the Athenian princes, the government was rendered yet more decidedly democratical,[1] and it is a remarkable circumstance to this effect, noticed by Plutarch, that Homer, in his catalogue of the different states of Greece which joined in the Trojan expedition, gives the name of Δημος[2] peculiarly to the Athenians. In these circumstances it was not extraordinary, (for the love of power is the most encroaching of all principles,) that a people so strongly led by imagination, and experiencing a daily advancement in civilization which made all sense of

† The city of its own free choice bestowed."

Τύραννον αὐτὸν οἱ 'πιχώριοι χθονὸς
Τῆς 'Ισθμίας στήσουσιν. (Ib. 939.)

"The dwellers of the Ishmian land will choose
Him for their monarch."

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in speaking of the ancient princes of Greece, remarks that they ruled not despotically, but according to the laws and customs of the country, πλὴν οὐ δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμους τι καὶ ἰδισμοὺς πατρίους. (Antiq. Roman. v.;) and Aristotle observes that the royal power was exercised over willing subjects, and under certain settled restrictions, αὕτη δ'ἦν ἐκόντων μὲν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις. (Polit. III. 14.)

[1] Plutarch (in Thes.) attributes to Theseus the honour of having been the first prince who had the magnanimity to resign absolute power to make way for a free government. Hence Isocrates says of him, τὴν μὲν πόλιν διοικεῖν μὲν πλήθει παρέδωκεν. (Panath. p. 259.) "He intrusted the management of the city to the multitude." And Demosthenes in like manner Θησεὺς συνῴκισεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐποίησεν. (Neær. Oper. p. 737. ed. Morelii.) "Theseus collected them into one community, and established democracy." (Cf. Euripid. Suppl., 440.)

[2] Οἱ δ' ἄρ' 'Αθήνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος. (Iliad. II. 546.)

subjection painful, should on the first convenient opportunity rid themselves of monarchy altogether;[1] or that they should do it after that somewhat fantastic fashion, which they in point of fact adopted, when, on the heroic fall of Codrus, they declared that none but Jupiter was worthy to succeed him as their king. That this was not a mere accidental event, but a result of the gradual progress of opinion, seems plain from the fact that almost simultaneously monarchy sank without a struggle, as if by a natural death, in most of the Grecian states; and that, even after the fall of royalty, the progress continued regular through various more and more popular forms of obligarchy, till that too was swallowed up at Athens by the torrent of democratic feeling.[2] The state of anarchy, however, into which, when the ancient checks on popular licence were withdrawn, the Athenians soon found themselves precipitated, compelled them to have recourse to a more definite and chartered constitution; though even in the act by which they sought to limit their own anarchical freedom, their democratical tendencies were strongly manifested in the circumstance, remarked by Aristotle, that they uniformly selected their lawgivers from the middle class of citizens.[3] Accordingly, after an unsuccessful trial of Draco's sanguinary code, they appointed the wise and virtuous Solon unlimited legislator of the commonwealth.[4] The constitu-

[1] Pausan. IV. 5.

[2] Arist. Polit. IV. 13.

[3] Τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. (Arist. Polit. IV. 11.)

[4] Οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὐχὶ, πάντα δ' ἐμάδως ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀρχὰς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλάς. (Plut. in Solon.) They referred to him, not one part or another of the administration, but the whole system without exception,—magistracies, assemblies, tribunals, senates.

tion which under this commission he delivered to his countrymen, and which, considering the time and circumstances of its composition, deserves to be esteemed a master-effort of sagacity, was necessarily democratical in its basis; though, at the same time, the legislator made it his object to provide sufficient checks on the popular despotism,[1] in the prerogatives which he conferred on the senate of Four Hundred and the tribunal of the Areopagus.[2] Hence when asked if he had given the Athenians the best possible laws, the sage replied: "The best which they can bear;"[3] a reply strongly intimating the strength to which the love of popular power, cherished by a singularly free development of mental character, had already risen at Athens, and his apprehension that it might be too late to restrain it even by the restraints of his beautiful aristo-democracy.[4] So in fact it proved. For while the laws by which he had defined and guarded civil right continued the objects of popular veneration down to the extinction of the commonwealth, the constitution was almost immediately after its promulgation suspended, in the strife of parties which terminated in the brilliant domination of the Pisistratidæ; and, even after having been restored on the expulsion of Hippias, was made the victim of various innovations, destructive of the whole system of balances which Solon had wisely but too insecurely disposed. Step by step the Solonic constitution was

[1] Quasi anchoras duas. (Plut.)

[2] Plut. in Solone.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Μίξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν. (Arist. de Rep. II. 12). "Having framed a beautifully mixed constitution." (Cf. Justin. II. 7. et Solon Fragment. Poet Minor. Græc. p. 427, ed. Lond. 1712.)

melted down into a pure democracy. Clisthenes added indefinitely to the power of the people, by the institution of the Ostracism; and to their already excessive tendency to political meddling, by increasing the number of the tribes to such an amount, as to give every individual in the state more or less a political part to play.[1] This was followed by the law with which Aristides found it necessary, after the Persian war, to propitiate the ungovernable vanity of the victor people,[2]—the law admitting citizens of the lowest class to fill all public stations indiscriminately with the highest. The corruption of the constitution was carried on by Cimon, whose princely liberalities had all the effect of legalized bribery upon the people,[3] and by Pericles, when he applied the public treasury to a similar use.[4] But the most fatal blow of all was that which the last-named statesman struck through his creature Ephialtes, in degrading the sacred prerogative of the Areopagus,[5] that venerable

[1] Herod. v. 66, 69. Καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, οἷς Κλεισθένης ἐν Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο· φυλαί τε καὶ ἴτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους, καὶ φρατρίαι· καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον, ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις. (Arist. Polit. vi. 4.) "Such arrangements as Clisthenes established at Athens are of great importance to a democracy; with a view to establish a strength of which it is expedient to create as many new tribes and curiæ as possible, and to provide for the greatest possible amount of mutual intercourse among the citizens."

[2] Ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος, γινόμενος αἴτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νίκης, καὶ διὰ ταύτης, τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν. (Arist. Polit. ii. 12. Plut. in Aristid.) "The naval multitude, to whom the victory at Salamis, and the lead which Athens consequently took in Greece, were mainly attributable, did much for strengthening the democracy."

[3] Plut. in Cimon. Athen. xii. p. 513. Mitford, Chap. xii. Sect. 1.

[4] Plut. Pericl. 9. cf. 11.

[5] Arist. Polit. ii. 12. Ὥσπερ Τυράννῳ, are his words of Pericles,

senate, which, veiling itself in the darkness of night from all illusions of sense, and guarded by the severity of law against all appeals of passion and imagination, used to sit like a public conscience in its sanctuary, the watching genius of the constitution and of civic virtue at Athens.[1] Thus the process of events, which had gradually concurred to invest the people with political power, terminated at last in the establishment of an unlimited and despotical ochlocracy,—the union of all the powers of government in the hands of the sovereign populace,—or, in two words, a democratical tyranny.[2]

On this definition, however, of the Athenian government, it may be desirable that we explain ourselves somewhat more at length. It has generally been held that despotism and democracy are systems of government directly opposite to one another.[3] In one sense, this may be true, according to the profound and witty

and of Ephialtes, *τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενοι, τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν.* "Paying court to the populace as to a tyrant, they brought the constitution to its present democratical form."

[1] *Οἱ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ διικάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ εἰς τοὺς λέγοντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀποβλέποιεν.* (Lucian. in Hermot.)

Κέρδων ἄθικτον, τοῦτο βουλευτήριον,
Αἰδοῖον, ἐξύθυμον, ἐνδόντων ὕπερ
Ἐγερήγορος φρούρημα γῆς.

(Æsch. Eumen. 674–676.)

See the eulogy of this illustrious body duly pronounced by Isocrates in his Areopagitic oration, (an oration which has had the honour of giving its own name to the most majestic work in the form of a speech which our literature boasts, the Areopagitica of Milton,) and by Demosthenes in his speech against Aristocrates, pp. 412, 413.

[2] *Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων κυριώτατος ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁπάντων, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι ἂν βούλοιτο.* (Demosth. in Neær. p. 789.) "The Athenian people being absolute lord of all in the city, and having liberty to do whatever seemed good in its sight."

[3] See, for example, Ferguson on Civil Society, I. 10.

saying of Aristotle, "Of the various forms of government, democracy may be called the opposite of tyranny, on Hesiod's principle, that 'two of a trade can never agree,' for perfect democracy is tyranny;"[1] although, however, hints of the great political principle on which the statement of the possible union of democracy and despotism is founded more than once occur both in Plato and Aristotle, it does not appear to have been distinctly perceived by writers on government, till the time of Montesquieu, and even by him it is stated with some obscurity. The principle is this, that the *forma regiminis*, the arrangement of the powers of government, is a distinct consideration from the *forma imperii*, the selection of the functionaries of government; and that in every political constitution the first point is the essence of the government, and the choice of the governors is, though important, secondary. The essential distinction of a political constitution is, whether it be limited or unlimited; or, in other words, whether the legislative and executive powers be divided or united. A subordinate, though not unimportant one, is whether the sovereignty be exercised by one, by several, or by all. According as the powers are divided or combined, mutually checked or universally uncontrolled, the government, according to the nomenclature of Kant[2]—which seems liable to no objection but its novelty,—is called republican or despotical. According as the government is administered by an individual, by a class, or by the whole body of citizens,

[1] Ἐναντίαι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι. Δῆμος μὲν τυραννίδι, καθ' Ἡσίοδον, "Ὡς κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς·" καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία τυραννίς ἐστιν. (Polit. v. 10.)

[2] Ap. Heeren's Ideen., B. I. App.

it is called autocracy, aristocracy, or democracy. According as a constitution is despotical or republican, it annihilates or secures the freedom which is called *personal liberty*, that is, every citizen's enjoyment of rights independent of arbitrary will. According as it is autocratical, aristocratical, or democratical, it limits or enlarges that which is called *political liberty*, that is, the share which individuals possess in carrying on the government.

On these principles, it is obvious that there are three distinct forms of despotism; and each of these three is distinguished by a different character. *Oligarchical* is the most arrogant and cruel of the forms, as Aristotle from the result of his extensive observations allows, and as we see clearly exhibited in the history of the Thirty tyrants of Athens, the Decemviri of Rome, the Senators of Venice, and the knots of conspirators who successively tyrannized over revolutionary France. *Autocratical*, again, is the most torpid and chilling form of despotic government, as the general stagnation of mind which we observe beneath the shadow of despotic thrones abundantly demonstrates; while *democratical* is, of all the three infinitely the most favourable both to virtue and to intellect, because it destroys only one-half of freedom while it makes the other half doubly strong, and so at the expense of the equilibrium still keeps up the action of the machine.[1]

[1] These distinctions in the theory of government, appear to us important in themselves, and to be especially valuable in their application to Grecian history. The principal historian of Greece our country has produced too often overlooks them in his unmeasured condemnation of the Athenian constitution, and equally unmea-

Of this particular species of despotism, the Athenian government is the most remarkable specimen which history affords. Uniting the characteristics of democracy and tyranny, it conferred on the citizens a degree of *political* liberty which was never elsewhere enjoyed under a civilized administration, while it afforded no protection whatever to their *personal* liberty, but left all individual rights at the mercy of the sovereign people, in whom the powers of government were finally centered. The constitution which thus became despotical had been, as originally constituted by Solon, a beautiful specimen of republicanism or the government of checks and balances. The equilibrium of these, however, seems to have been insecurely disposed by the legislator, in so far as he constituted the many the sovereign, and placed the checks upon the sovereignty in the few.[1] For it is quite obvious that, when the supremacy both of constitutional and physical power is lodged, as in this case, in the same

sured eulogies on the rule of Philip and of Dionysius; and an inattentive observer of the pictures which he presents of popular despotism is too apt to mistake the effects of the despotism for consequences of the popularity, and, in contrasted cases of monarchical despotism, to conceive of the advantages of the monarchy as if they were results of the despotism. The one advice, indeed, which, might we presume to advise, we should suggest to the readers of Mitford (and among these, from the substantial merits of his work, must be comprized all honest students of antiquity), would be this —fairly to inquire how much of the effects, which he attributes to the Athenian government, resulted from its being popular, and how much is to be ascribed to its being despotical. We cannot doubt that this inquiry, honestly pursued, will lead to much sounder political conclusions than the impressions which will be received from passively admitting the dicta of the Philippizing historian.

[1] Μέμφονταί τινες Σόλωνι λῦσαι γὰρ θάτιρον, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων. (Arist. Polit. II. 12.) "There are some who object

quarter, there will be there collected a concentration of force which on the first collision will shatter into fragments the whole system of petty restraints intended for its regulation. So at least it happened at Athens. By the innovations of Clisthenes, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles, the checks of the constitution were gradually displaced and overthrown; the sovereignty of the people was left entirely uncontrolled, and the machine of government, let loose from its regulators, began to work with a rapidity and fury which, while it produced the most striking effects as a spring to the character of the people, and made the neighbouring nations giddy to gaze upon its revolutions, soon exhausted the resources of the state, and shook it into ruin.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION.

In the meanwhile, however, the Athenian administration, by stimulating political while it extinguished personal freedom, gave a general impulse to mind and life, out of which all the more brilliant, if not the more solid effects of good government, were for a time produced. During the progress of this constitution, the physical or political economy, as well as the public fortunes of Athens, had proceeded in an equally prosperous career, under the denomination of her political economy comprehending her population and her wealth. In regard to the former subject, the Athenians seem to have shared in the aversion felt by all the Grecian states to any great increase of the free population; an aversion originating chiefly in jealousy of their own prerogatives as a despot-

to Solon, that his constitution, by placing the supremacy in the dicasterium, virtually annihilated all the other powers of the state."

people, and regard to the safety of the democracy; and partly, perhaps, in a practical anticipation of Mr Malthus's scientific principles forced upon them by their constant exposure to unexpected emergencies.[1] Hence we find the number of Athenian citizens continuing almost stationary at about twenty thousand, during the whole continuance of the independent democracy.[2] The Athenians had recourse to various means in order to avert any great increase of population. In the early ages they disposed of their superfluous numbers in colonies; in later times they encouraged their citizens to enlist as soldiers under foreign powers, and had recourse to the yet more questionable policy of publicly discouraging marriage, and, there is reason to fear, extensively practised infanticide.[3]

The natural effect of this line of policy upon the national character of the Athenians, must obviously have been to concentrate and multiply the powers of all the other circumstances which affected them as citizens, by

[1] So Plato seems to hint when he describes the Utopian citizens as "taking care not to encourage population beyond the supply of subsistence in case either of poverty or of war."—Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν ποιούμενοι παῖδας, εὐλαβούμενοι ἢ πενίαν ἢ πόλεμον. (De Rep. II. 12, ed. Serran. tom. II. p. 372.)

[2] Herodotus (v. 97) speaks of 30,000 at the commencement of the Persian war, before the separation of citizens and metics. The poll of citizens under Pericles, mentioned by Plutarch, rated them at 14,240, obviously omitting the strangers who were denizened in Athens, and who contributed no inconsiderable share both to its literary and political strength. The estimate which Aristophanes gives, including the metics, (Ecclesiaz. 1132) is again the old number of 30,000. The last census of the Athenian population which was taken under Demetrius Phalereus (Athen. VI. p. 272) reckons the number of citizens 21,000; that of metics, 10,000. Demosthenes (in Aristoc.) reckons the citizens 20,000.

[3] Arist. Polit. VII. 16. Plut. de amor. prol. Terent. Heaut. III. 9.

making that distinction more exclusive, and therefore more important to each individual. The character of citizen, however, was rendered more august and flattering in the eyes of an Athenian, not merely by its being limited to a few, but by its being enjoyed in perpetual contrast with a very different condition of the many. The amount of the servile population in Athens was twenty times that of the citizens. For though the number of four hundred thousand slaves, given by Athenæus,[1] as one result of the census held by Demetrius Phalereus has been disputed by eminent authors, whom its greatness has rendered incredulous, they have totally failed in impugning either the integrity of the text or the information of the author.[2] The Athenian, then, brought

[1] Athen. vi. p. 272.

[2] It is to be observed, moreover, that Mr Hume, in his Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations, has greatly exaggerated the difficulty, by supposing Athenæus in his estimate to refer only to full-grown male slaves, who on a reasonable calculation may be reckoned at a fourth part of the whole slave population: thus making the total number of slaves in Attica, 1,600,000, a number which all will allow to be incredible. But this mode of calculation is altogether gratuitous. Mr Hume indeed founds it on the circumstance that his author, in giving the other results of the census, the number of the citizens, for example, certainly refers to the number of adult males. But it is by no means inconceivable, that Athenæus should have varied the principle of his estimate in regard to two such different classes of persons as the citizens and the slaves of Athens; nor would it be difficult to defend his strict accuracy in doing so. For it is quite plain that, in stating only the adult males of the native free population of Attica as *citizens*, he spoke what was literally true; they alone enjoying the privileges which constitute citizenship. Nor is it less so that, in giving the amount of the whole servile population under the name of *slaves*, he was also literally correct; as they all, whatever differences might exist among them of age or sex, were equally born into that condition which constitutes slavery.

up in the midst of so immense a slave population, was taught more and more strongly to associate the feeling of superiority with the character of citizen, while, as we have already remarked, by his exemption from the plebeian necessities of life in the discharge of menial and mechanic arts, his character as a man was delivered from those trammels of professionality and personal cares, by which, in modern times, the freedom of human nature is so much confined and circumscribed.

MATERIAL WEALTH OF THE ATHENIANS.

But the four hundred thousand slaves of Athens contributed much more directly to her greatness: for it was principally by their labour that those manufactures were carried on, which raised the city to such importance as a commercial state.[1] According to an excellent law of Solon's code, no Athenian was allowed to maintain more slaves than he could furnish with useful employment.[2] Thus an immense quantity of labour was forced into the various channels of industry, and Athens became a commercial state of the first magnitude in the ancient world. We are informed, accordingly, that it was common for individuals at Athens to employ fifty slaves in manufac-

[1] Those who desire full information in regard to the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of Athens, will find the subject discussed and illustrated at great length, by A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History at Gottigen, in the third volume of his Ideen ueber die Politik, den Verkehr, und den Handel des vornehmsten Staaten der alten Welt, a book that—judging by the two previous volumes which are all that we have seen—deserves to be known to all scholars as a work of the highest order in classical antiquities.

[2] Mentioned by Ulpian in his Scholia on the Midias of Demosthenes.

tures; and an ancient orator speaks of a hundred and twenty similarly maintained by himself.[1] The extent to which the division of labour—the great index of manufacturing and trading prosperity—had been carried at Athens, strikes even the modern reader as remarkable.[2] Her principal exports consisted of arms, cloths, household furniture and books, and especially of the staple commodities of the country, oil and honey, which in ancient times, before butter or sugar were known, were universally used to answer their purposes.[3] In return for these and the produce of the Laurian silver mines, the Athenians, possessed as they were of the undisputed sovereignty of the seas, seem to have imported the commodities of almost all the regions of the earth. Of this Pericles takes particular notice in pronouncing the eulogy of Athens. "For in consequence of the greatness of the city," are his words, "all the productions of all the earth are poured into it, so that we enjoy no less famili-

[1] Lysiæ cont. Eratost. orat. p. 395, ed. Reisk.

[2] See the catalogue of professions there carried on to be found in Aristoph. Plut. 160. &c., and Plato De Rep. II., tom. II., pp. 370–373, ed. Serran.

[3] It is in reference to the manufacturing genius of the Athenian people that the learned but fantastic Gebelin explains the fragment of Sanchoniathon relating to Athens,—Καὶ ὁ Κρόνος δὲ, περιὼν τὴν οἰκουμένην, Ἀθηνᾷ, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ, δίδωσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὴν βασιλείαν. "And Saturn, in his Travels over the globe, assigned the kingdom of Attica to his daughter Minerva." "Explication d'Allegorie. L'Attique, pays montagneux, et du sol ingrat et sterile, devint un pays d'artistes, de fabriquans, de cultivateurs d'oliviers, de vendeurs de l'huile—ces arts, bien differens de celui du labourage, n'exigeant qu'une vie sedentaire et interieure, se faisant non au dehors et aux ardeurs du soleil, mais au dedans, mais dans la menage, district de la femme, de la mere de famille, de la dame de logis, furent mis sous la protection d'une Dèesse."—(Monde Primitif, I. 10.)

arly the good things which Nature has bestowed on other men, than those which are produced among ourselves." "For the Peiræus," says another panegyrical orator, "situated as an emporium in the midst of Greece, enjoys such an overflow of traffic, that commodities which you can with difficulty procure one by one in other parts, you can easily obtain all at once in Athens."[1] What greatly contributed to this commercial prosperity of the Athenians, was the vast number of flourishing colonies which they had planted in Asia and the islands, and with which they kept up a constant intercourse, both of trade and of protection, so long as they held the empire of the seas; the Ionian colonies being then, as they are still, the richest and most commercial towns of the East; and Miletus, which was one of them, being, next to Tyre, the first emporium of the world.

[1] Ἐπισίρχεται δὲ διὰ μίγιθος τῆς πόλιως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρᾳ τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ ἀυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμινα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. (Thucyd. II. 38.) Ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πιραιᾶ κατιστήσατο, τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἴχον, ὥστι ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἓν παρ' ἑκάστων χαλιπόν ἐστι λαβιῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι. (Isocr. Paneg. p. 49.) It is a very amusing list which Eubulus, as quoted by Athenæus (XIV. p. 640), gives of the vendible commodities of the Athenian forum :—

Ἐν τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἁμοῦ πωλήσιταί,
Ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις· οὐκ ἀκλήτηρις βότρυς,
Γογγυλίδις, ἄτιοι, μῆλα, μέρτυρις, ῥόδα,
Μίσπιλα, χωρία, σχαδόνις, ἐρίβινθοι, δίκαι,
Πυὸς, πυρῖα μύρτα τι, κληρωτήρια.
Ψάκινθος, ἄρνις, κλιψύδραι, νόμοι, γραφαί.

"For all commodities are sold at once
In Athens,—such as grapes of high renown,
Pears, apples, turnips, roses, witnesses,
Medlars, tripe, vetches, law-suits, honey-comb,
Curds, censers, myrtle-berries, suffrages,
Lambs, hyacinths, hour-glasses, laws, accounts."

We are informed by the speech of Pericles previous to the Peloponnesian war, in regard to the public resources, that after the completion of all the splendid works by which he immortalized his administration, there remained in the public treasury a clear sum of six thousand talents,[1] in addition to the yearly income of 600 derived from the tribute of the allies, and the indefinite amount arising from the produce of the Laurian mines and other public property.[2] Aristophanes mentions the whole income at 2000 talents, and all this accumulated without taxation or confiscation. And in regard to private resources, we are informed by Isocrates,[3] that at the period of which we speak, not one of the citizens was in want of the necessaries of life, nor disgraced the city to which he belonged by asking charity.

The wealth which would naturally be accumulated in a city of such commercial importance, not to speak at present of its political resources, will readily be conceived to have been enormous. It has been shewn by unexceptionable calculations,[4] that the value of property in

[1] A talent contained as much silver, according to Boeckh, as £241, 13s. 4d., but its value in exchange for the necessaries of life was probably 10 or 20 times as great.

[2] Thucyd. II. 13.

[3] Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι μὲν ἰσοδιὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὔτε προσαιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατῄσχυνε. (Isocrat. extrem. Areopag.) The cheapness and facility of living was great. A sheep in the time of Demetr. Phales. = 1 drachm = 9¾d.; an ox in time of Solon = 5s.; a sow in time of Aristoph. 3s.; a medimnus of corn in time of Dem. = 5; 3 cotyl. of wine = 1 obol. See the authorities in Meursii Fortun. Attic., ap. Gronov. Thesaur. v.

[4] See the Introductory Essay to Gillies's Translation of Lysias and Isocrates. Boeckh has proved, notwithstanding the strong passage in Polybius (II. 62–63), that

Athens, even in the least flourishing periods after the Persian war, must have been equal, in exchangeable value, to nearly thirty millions of our money. Nor can this estimate of the pecuniary resources of the most splendid among cities be deemed more than sufficient to account for the high scale of all her expenses, the magnificence of her public works, and the vastness of her imperial armaments.[1]

PUBLIC SUCCESSES.

We must not forget, however, in this review of the political circumstances of Athens, up to the time of Pericles, that the external fortunes of the nation had been as brilliant as its internal resources had become prodigious. The renown of victories which, with all the deductions made by the cynical Sallust[2] and his followers, must still be called unparalleled, both for the heroism which achieved them, and for the place which they hold in the history of man, had enshrined Athens as in the centre of a glory. The genius of Miltiades and Themistocles, had carried her to the pinnacle of renown for arms and diplomacy;[3] the

the national wealth in the 100th Olympiad, was at least 20,000 talents, which Gillies makes much more.

[1] Her military resources, as described by Pericles, were 300 ships, 33,000 warriors, and 1000 tributary towns.

[2] Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam famâ feruntur. (Catil. VIII.) "The achievements of the Athenians were in my opinion, not without their brilliance and importance, but still considerably below the rank which popular fame assigns them."

[3] Τὸν ἡγούμενον (Θεμιστοκλέα) ὃς μόνος καὶ τόπους, καὶ καιροὺς, καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπόῤῥητα, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα, ὥσπερ μάντις, ἐξηγεῖτο. (Aristid. Panath. p. 41.) "The leader who, in a way peculiar to himself, and, as if by prophetic inspiration, understood places and times, and

justice of Aristides had made her the acknowledged leader and treasurer of the Greek confederation;[1] the adventurous bravery of Cimon had established for her a brilliant and extended empire;[2] the sagacity of Pericles had consolidated the frame-work of her dominion, and made her structure worthy the place she held in Greece;[3] all had combined to invest her with the command of the seas, and raise to an unexampled pitch of prosperity both her military and her commercial marine;[4] herself the most unlimited of democracies, she was the patroness of democracy throughout the Hellenic body;[5] the mother-city of a multitude of prosperous colonies; the principal power with which the greatest empire then existing in the world held political relations; and, in one word, she had become what she called herself, the most splendid, the most puissant, and the most glorious of commonwealths,—the luminary of Greece,—the terror of Persia,—the envy of the world.

the secrets of the barbarians, and the events of futurity." (Cf. Thucyd. I. 138.)

[1] Thucyd. I. 96. Plut. in Aristid.

[2] Plut. in Cimon.

[3] Plut. in Pericl.

[4] Thucyd. I. 14, 93, &c.

Πόθεν τὸ γίνος; ὅθεν αἱ τριηρεῖς αἱ καλαί. (Aristoph. Aves. 109.)

"Whence come you? Whence the beautiful gallies come."

[5] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι παντα χοῦ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς δήμους καταλυουσι. (Arist. Polit. v. 7.) "For the Athenians uniformly destroy oligarchy, and the Lacedæmonians democracy." Ἔστ' ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς δήμους, διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων, ἢ περὶ γῆς μέρους, ἢ ὅρων, ἢ φιλοτιμίας, ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδενός, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. (Demosth. pro Rhod. libert., p. 115.) "When you wage war with democratical states, it is on account of some specific offence, or for the sake of some district of territory, or some line of frontier, or from the love of glory, or the desire of pre-eminence; but against oligarchical

SUMMARY OF EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE.

Such are the most prominent features in that system of political circumstances which constituted the education of the nationality of Athens, an education, the tendency of which in all its parts,—the constitution of the government, the distribution of the population, the overflow of commercial wealth, and the splendour of public success,—strongly tended to pamper the national mind into an unbounded self-estimation. What was the result, in point of fact, we shall presently see. For having now endeavoured to convey a general idea of the position which Athens occupied, up to the time of Pericles, in reference to those influences by the operation of which, national character, as far as it admits of explanation, must be accounted for, we now proceed,

II. To trace the prominent features of the character itself, as they displayed themselves thenceforward, down to the fall of Athenian independence.

In the former part of the Essay, we have described, under two general heads, a variety of separate influences,—those of organization, climate, age, religion, poetry, education, government, commerce, empire,—to which separately we shall have more or less occasion to advert, in discussing the details of the character resulting from them. We have chosen, however, to arrange them in these two complex groups, not merely for the purpose of classification, but especially because out of the general effect of these two combinations of causes two great peculiarities were formed, which may be con-

governments you contend, not on such grounds as those I have enumerated, but on behalf of your constitution and of freedom."

sidered as the foundation-principles of the Athenian character. These we shall now explain in a general way, before passing to more particular details.

UNIVERSALITY OF GENIUS AND EMOTION IN ATHENS.

The first of these peculiarities, which is the general result of that complex influence described under the name of *civilization*, is a singularly free and universal development of the component parts of human nature. We have seen how, in its various parts, the education both of the individual and of the nation was directly calculated for the purpose of giving free evolution at once to the mind and to the will. It might, indeed, be imagined, from the completely poetical character of the early Greek civilization, that the character of the people too might be somewhat exclusively poetical, and that there might be some deficiency in their nature of the more prosaic and practical qualities of mind, impairing the general completeness and harmony of their faculties. To a certain degree we shall find this conjecture verified in the dislike with which abstract philosophy was for a considerable period regarded in Athens. With this one exception, however, the national mind does not appear to have received any partial bias from the circumstance in question. For the truth is, that poetry, to an early people, is not what it is to an individual in a highly cultivated age,—the selection of a single path of mental exertion, requiring certain faculties to be cherished to the prejudice of others. To such a people it is the natural language of all the faculties. Hence says Lord Bacon, "for the expressing of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs, we are beholden to poets more than to philosophers' works, and

for wit and eloquence, not much less than to orators' harangues."[1] We have already had an opportunity of remarking how fully this statement was verified in the mythological and heroic poetry of early Greece; its distinctive peculiarity being the singularly perfect reflection which it presents of human nature. That the poetic character of the early Grecian culture was merely the effect of temporary circumstances, and not the indication of any partial habit of mental constitution, is proved by the fact, that when with the progress of time the circumstances were altered to which poetry owes its predominance with every gifted people in the earlier stages of its history, the poetic form of Grecian civilization was altered too; prose and poetry took each its appropriate place in a complete and harmonious literature; and the ages of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were very nearly those of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. It was thus that Athens became that 'rara avis in terris,' a universal genius. Within the space of a single century, she had cultivated almost the whole circle of the arts, in single departments of which it has taken long ages to raise individual nations to eminence like hers, while in many departments she remains still the unrivalled object of a hopeless admiration; she had reaped distinction in every field of national glory, and in many left but the gleanings for those that followed. In luxurious refinement the rival of Corinth, in military prowess at least the peer of Sparta, in commercial prosperity a competitor with Phœnicia, in poetry the heiress of Homer, of eloquence and arts the mother,

[1] Advancement of Learning, Book II. Works, vol. I. p. 52. 4to. edit.

like Niobe in her happier days, rejoicing in a matchless offspring, the city in whose congenial atmosphere the famous wits of all the world, Aristippus from the verge of Libya's burning deserts, and Anacharsis from the central wilds of Scythia, met each other—Athens has become a sort of proverb to the nations, expressive of all genius and all beauty.[1] Imperial Rome, after having with laborious imitation constructed for herself a literature on the model of hers, was proud to term it 'our Athens.'[2] A modern city, if distinguished by beauty of situation, by elegance of structure, or by literary refinement, straightway assumes the title of the Modern Athens.[3] Italian artists and French literati love to allude to themselves as New Athenians, and to decorate their Leo or their Louis with the name of Pericles. To enumerate the titles of eulogy which the universal genius of Athens has procured her from the wondering nations would be to fill a volume. 'The inventress of all sciences and erudition;' 'the temple of letters, eloquence, and social cultivation;' 'the original of civilization, learning, religion, agriculture, policy, and laws;' 'the second creator of life;' 'the eye of Greece, mother of arts and elo-

[1] Ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε, μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν τεκμήριον εἶναι. (Isocr. Paneg. 51.) "Our city has rendered the name of Greek, a distinction not so much of race as of genius."

[2] Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas. (Juv. xv. 110.)

"For now the Grecian Athens and our own, To earth's remotest boundaries are known."

[3] 'Ah! need I tell that city's 'name?' The affectation, however, is not unexampled. In Gruter's Ancient Inscriptions, p. 177, there is described a monument of the city of Milan, in which that town assumes the very title in question, "Aquæ ductum in Novis Athenis cœptum," &c.

quence;' let these be a small specimen of the styles and titles of the 'ancient of days, august Athena,' the Gloriana of the Muses' realm.[1]

Her passions, moreover, were not less universal in their range than her genius, nor did they form a picture less complete of this department of abstract human nature. Its good and its evil were in her displayed in strange union; and it constituted the difficulty of the painter's task who wished to take her likeness, that what seemed contradictory elements of feeling were simultaneously displayed in the same countenance.[2] "The democracy of Athens" according to Plutarch's description "was easily excited to anger, quickly soothed again to pity; it was more than any other nation delighted with flattery, less than any other offended with sarcasm; it was ferocious, and that towards its own ministers; philanthropic, and that even to its enemies."[3] "By bringing together," says a learned modern, "the

[1] Illæ omnium doctrinarum inventricis Athenæ. (Cic. de Orat. I. 4.) Literæ ac facundia et civilis ordo disciplinæ veluti templum, Athenas habent. (Justin. II. 7.) Adsunt Athenienses, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges ortæ atque in omnes terras distributæ putantur. (Cic. pro Flacc.)

Primæ frugiparos fetus mortalibus ægris
Dididerunt quondam, præclaro nomine, Athenæ,
Et recreaverunt vitam, legesque rogarunt. (Lucret. VI. 1.)

"Athens (illustrious name!) humane and sage,
First taught the wretches of a barbarous age,
From earth a finer sustenance to draw,
Created life anew and fixed the reign of law!"

Ὅπως ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ κόρη, ἢ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμὸς, τοῦτ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθῆναι. (Philo.) Civitas indigna nullius præconii tanta claritas superfluit. (Plin.) Mercatura bonarum artium. (Cic. de Offic. III. sub fin.) See also Paradise Regained, B. IV.; Childe Harold, Cant. II.; "Et quem non?" as Wakefield says.

[2] See note p. 1. *ante*.

[3] Plut. de præcept. gerend. Reipubl. III.

features which Aristophanes supplies of the customs, manners, vices, and whole character of the people of Athens, the reader will fix in his mind the indelible idea of a people in whom infinite contrarieties were united; and who, in a manner that can scarce be expressed, connected nobility with the caste of Athens; wisdom with madness; rage for novelty with a bigotry for antiquity; the politeness of a monarchy with the roughness of a republic; refinement with coarseness; independence with slavery; haughtiness with servile compliance; severity of manners with debauchery; a kind of irreligion with piety."[1] It was thus that the Athenians became, as it were, a national type of Man, with all his various powers and contradictory passions, and the object of a similarly mixed and compounded emotion. This nature of ours possesses too much that is sublime to be utterly despised, too much that is mean to be wholly respected; it is too amiable to be entirely hated, and too imperfect to be without exception loved; yet by the very inconsistency of its constituent elements, not less than by the frequent splendour of their results, does it render itself the object of ceaseless wonder; and so it is that towards the national character which was

[1] Brumoy's Greek Theatre, translated by Dr. Johnson, Conclusion, II. To account for this strange mixture of greatness and meanness—virtue and vice,—an ancient writer has invented a distinction between the Attics and the Athenians, the former of whom he represents as the owners of all the bad qualities, and to the latter assigns all the good ones of the Athenian character as it is generally understood. Τῶν δ' ἐνοικούντων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Ἀττικοὶ, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ πιρίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς, ὕπουλοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παροιμιῶν ταὶ τῶν ξυνιέντων βίαιοι· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τοῖς τρόποις, φιλίαις γνήσιοι φύλακες. (Decsearch. Stephen. c. 2. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. tom. XI.)

its epitome, or as Aristides terms it, its image and its limit,[1] we are impressed with that strange feeling, before described, of changing esteem and unchanging astonishment.

NATIONALITY.

We are now, however to contemplate all this variety of power and passion subjected to one great paramount impulse; which it was the tendency of the second education before described to create and cherish, but the predominance of which, far from checking, excited and stimulated the whole humanity of the Athenian character. This impulse was an intense and bigoted patriotism. We have already seen by what process of events Athens was rendered the most splendid and powerful of the Grecian states; and how her people became a sovereign and an imperial nation, with nothing in the past to look to but their own prosperity and glory, and no prospect for the future but wider prosperity and glory more brilliant. In these circumstances it is not wonderful that the national character should have deeply imbibed the conviction, that Athens was the first of states, and that Athenians, as such, were entitled to precedence among all their citizens. In the better days of the commonwealth, this conviction, and the burning desire produced by it

Αἶψ' ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,[2]

[1] Εἴ τινα χρὴ πόλιν τῆς φύσεως ἀνθρωπείας εἰκόνα καὶ ὅρον προσειπεῖν, ἡ δ' ἂν μοι δοκῇ δικαίως κληθῆναι. (Aristid. Panath. p. 97.) "If any city may be justly entitled the image and the limit of human nature, she of all others seems to me deserving of the name."

[2] Iliad, VI. 208.

"In every glory to excel
And to do best, where all did well."

assumed a certain cast of romantic nobleness and sublimity. Although their ambition and jealousy of predominance led undoubtedly to many acts of oppression towards their allies, and gave to their superiority in Greece that character of tyranny which ultimately produced the Peloponnesian war, yet the air of lofty magnanimity which at this period it possessed strongly inclines us to pardon it as 'the infirmity of noble minds.' Theirs was an ambition which sought its highest rewards not so much in the actual acquisitions which they made, as in the rapture of the strife and the consciousness of the triumph, a triumph dear to the Athenians chiefly as justifying to their own minds the inborn sense of their superiority, and vindicating their own proud vanity. 'Præter laudem nullius avari,'[1] they were goaded on to eminence by essentially the same feelings both as individuals and as a nation. Their contests as individuals,—that, for example, of Themistocles and Aristides,—were contests of emulous patriotism, as thoroughly purified as it is possible to conceive from envy, avarice, and malignity, and uniformly subordinated to the glory of their common country.[2] Their object was mere superiority in her regards,—to be esteemed the foremost in their own department by that city which they adored,—to be considered as having contributed the most to her interest and fame,—

"First in the race that led to Glory's goal."[3]

[1] Horat. Ep. ad Pison. 324.

[2] On one occasion when Aristides and Themistocles had been sent on an embassy, they covenanted to lay down their enmity upon the frontier, and take it up again when they returned. (Plut. Apophth. Aristid. 3.)

[3] Byron's Childe Harold, Canto II. 2.

As a people, the object of their ambition was similar,—the 'principatus Græciæ,'[1] the place of honour,—simply to be acknowledged the first in that strife of nations of which Greece was the glorious theatre; not that they might slumber in peace beneath their laurels, but that they might hold the place of foremost danger as well as foremost fame in the ranks of the confederation against the barbaric tyranny. It was essentially no gross desire of physical power or gain; but a refined, ethereal, exciting principle of an elevated national mind,—'the spur of a clear spirit,'—the love of abstract glory,—the thirst of pure distinction,—the enthusiasm of uncorrupted emulation,—the exultation of simple victory.

But a principle such as this was obviously of too fine and subtile a nature to operate but on the more 'erected spirits' of a nation, and during the more uncorrupted periods of its history. We perceive, accordingly, the nationality of the Athenian people speedily degenerating from ambition into vanity, from generous emulation into egotistical self-importance; and it is under this form that we find it most prominently displayed in the national character. It was no wonder, certainly, that the inebriations of absolute power at home and continued victory abroad, combined in one intoxicating draught and sweetened by the adulation of innumerable flatterers, whom a despot never lacks,[2] should have pampered the Athenian

[1] Οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι φιλοτίμως εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐκ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνταγωνιστάς, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς νομίζοντες εἶναι. (Isocrat. Paneg. p. 58.) "Our forefathers used to regard each with a feeling of emulation, considering one another not as enemies but as competitors." Ἡ πόλις ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων, καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ δόξης. (Demosth. de Corona, p. 174.) "The city contended for preference, for honour, for glory."

[2] See examples in the Panegyrical and Panathenaical Orations of

character into the very fanaticism of national pride; that the drunkenness of self-love should have thrown Demos off his balance; and that, giddy with inordinate vanity, he should have appeared to himself the very centre round which the universe revolved. The interest, the glory of THE CITY[1] presently became an idol to which every individual interest and glory were sacrificed without remorse. If treasures were known to lie concealed in private coffers, which might be useful in meeting the exigencies or contributing to the pleasures of the state, there never was any difficulty in finding a sycophant to inform, or an orator to propose, or an assembly to sanction the appropriation. Demosthenes, even when in his speech on the finances he dissuades from this method of raising supplies, never hints at its injustice, but only demonstrates its inexpediency; he dares not utter treason by saying the people had no right, but simply declares the state of the fact, that for the present they had no motive.[2] If on any occasion the fame of a distinguished individual

Isocrates and Aristides, and especially that admirable mimicry of the panegyrical orators which Aspasia delivers in her rhetorical lecture to Socrates, as recorded in the Menexenus of Plato. *Τμῖν συμβέβηκεν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τερφθῆν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι, πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν.* (Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 65.) "It has become your practice in the assemblies to listen for the sake of gratification merely, and to pay no regard except to self-indulgent adulation." *Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν· Οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν.* (Arist. Rhetor. I. 9.) "For as Socrates used to say, 'It is not difficult at Athens to praise the Athenians.'"

[1] Ἡ πόλις or Τὸ Ἄστυ was the ordinary name of Athens among the Athenians. So much indeed had Astu become a proper name that we find the Latin authors using it untranslated. For example, Terence, Eun. v. 5; Corn. Nep. in Themist. 4.

[2] Demosthen. περὶ Συμμοριῶν, p. 107. See also the speech of Char-

threatened to overshadow the lustre of the people's glory, the ostracism—an institution for that case made and provided—could banish him politely, and make not his delinquencies but his merits an occasion of civilly hinting to him: "If any one excel among us, we have no objections to his excelling elsewhere."[1] Phidias was sent into exile for inserting an individual portrait on the buckler of his master-image of Minerva;[2] while Pericles was allowed to squander at will the treasures of the state, because he was careful to inscribe on all his works "Ὁ Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων."[3] It was not Miltiades to whom Athens confessed herself beholden for the day at Marathon, but to the Μαραθωνομάχοι with whom she supplied him;[4] it was not Themistocles or Cimon to whom she

mides in Xenophon's Symposium, Oper. p. 516.

[1] This saying is quoted by Helvetius (De l'Esprit, II. 3, Note C.) as having been current among the Ephesians, an Athenian colony. It is, however, at least as expressive of the spirit of the mother-city.

[2] Plut. in Pericl.

[3] Plut. ibid.

[4] Ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη γίγραπται· τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὐσωσὶ μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀπεκρίναισθ' ἄν, ὅτι Μιλτιάδης· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται· πῶς; οὐκ ἤγησει τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἤγησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν. (Æschin. c. Ctesiph. 62.) Ἀχάρισσος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων. (Ibid. 61.) "There the battle of Marathon is recorded: now who was the commander at that battle? This question you will answer with one voice, 'Miltiades;' yet there is no mention of him there. Why? Did he not ask this distinction? He did; but the people refused. Was the people then ungrateful? No! but it knew its own dignity." Καὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ἔργων οὐδενὸς τῶν τότε ἀπεστέρησαν ἑαυτούς, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων· οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. (Demosthen. περὶ Συντάξ. p. 100.) "For the Athenians never would consent to disavow their own share in any of the exploits of that memorable era. Every individual among them would speak of the sea-fight at Salamis, not as the victory of Themistocles, but as

held herself indebted for the acquisition of her brilliant empire, for that she regarded as the natural inheritance of the grand nation of antiquity;[1] and as Demos looked round upon his beautiful city, crowded with the trophies of victory, the pomp of riches, and the decorations of art, the one sentiment which filled his mind was that of the Babylonian despot: "Is not this the great city which I have built, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"[2] Nor was the τὸ φιλόπολι[3] of which we speak confined to any rank in the state. The very stall-women and sausage-sellers of Aristophanes are zealots for the democracy, and the utmost length to which street-railing in Athens could carry its abuse was to call a man μισοδημος[4] 'a people-hater;' nay, if we are to believe the Platonic Socrates, no one that had not had experience on the subject, could believe how much more democratical the very animals were at Athens than anywhere else; "for," he adds, "even the dogs here, as the proverb says, are become my very good masters, and the horses and asses have a fashion of foaming and tossing their heads with a peculiarly free and magisterial air;

that of the Athenians,—and of the battle of Marathon as the triumph —not of Miltiades, but of the city." Ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχοι. (Aristoph. Nub. 986.)

[1] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. 62.

[2] Daniel, iv. 30.

[3] Thucyd. vi. 92.

[4] They could smell such treason in the most trifling peculiarities of dress, as the French discover a man's politics from the dishes he eats at dinner. See Aristoph. Vesp. 473–477:—

——Ὦ μισόδημε,
Καὶ μοναρχίας ἐραστὰ,
Καὶ ξυνὸν βδασίδᾳ, καὶ φίλων
Κράστιδα στιμμάτων, τήν θ' ὑπήνην ἄκουρον τρίφων.

"Wretch! monarchs thou lovest,
And hast Demos in scorn;
Thou creature of Sparta!
Thou traitor forsworn!
Lo! thy tunic is fringed,
And thy beard is unshorn."

nay, you will see them, on the streets, actually knock a man down, unless he promptly take himself out of their highnesses' way." "Too well," exclaims the other person in the dialogue, "I know it by experience; for more than once, when on my way to the country, it has been my own sad fate."[1]

Such was that famous patriotism which formed the great spring of the whole Athenian character; and the force of its elasticity may be estimated by the boundless activity of mind which it produced, and the multitude of able men whom it called into notice, in all departments of exertion.[2] There are authors who lament, as the greatest calamity in the history of Athens, the triumph of pure democracy over the limited constitution of Solon. In one respect, that is, as far as the general comfort of the community was concerned, the introduction of pure democracy was certainly a loss; but, in another respect, that is, in reference to all for which Athens now is memorable in the eyes of men, and which grew out of the intense excitement of genius of every sort, it was the greatest of blessings. It is only in a democracy that all the genius of a country becomes public property, and is brought into activity for public ends. Accordingly, in surveying both the literary and the moral character of Athens, we shall see the whole system of training pervaded, stimulated, and in some degree limited, by the

[1] Plato de Repub. VIII. 14. The whole passage of which the ludicrous conclusion is somewhat freely given above is strongly to the point, and well worthy of being perused for its sagacity and eloquence.

[2] On the power of strong passions, especially vanity, in forming a brilliant national character, see Helvetius, De l'Esprit, II. 16, III. 25; Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, XIX. 9.

proud nationality of which the democratic government was the principal occasion; and find it operating on the national, as selfishness does on the individual mind, imbuing and controlling with imperceptible influence all the sayings and doings of the man, prompted though they may be each by its own specific motive.

RESULT OF THE COMBINATION OF GENIUS AND NATIONALITY.

We have thus traced the origin, and explained the nature, of the two great principles out of which we conceive the Athenian character to have been compounded,—a free human genius, and an intense national vanity. The one gave to their character its power, the other its direction; the one gave its possessors the capacity of eminence in all departments, the other the desire of eminence in most departments; the one supplied the materials of activity, the other set them in motion. Neither the one nor the other, however, contained in it any principle of control, any determining bias, any moral law. Uncontrolled nature is ever versatile, and conscious despotism is proverbially capricious. The character, then, which we should expect to emerge out of the effervescent mixture of these elements, is one which in those walks where the pleasure of man is directly ministered to, whether by sense or by intellect, should rise to unrivalled excellence; but, in those where the morality of man is exercised, in the habits of action and the pursuits of virtue, should prove itself the easy victim of vacillation and corruption; like her, the goddess born of the sea-foam, the deity at once of beauty and licentiousness, queen of all arts that decorate the person, slave of all allurements that seduce the passions. Such was the actual result;

and, as a general description, Athens, compared with the commonalty of nations, may be truly said to resemble those minds of eccentric orbit, compared with ordinary men, of whom the world has seen too many for its happiness,—individuals gifted with those transcendent and original talents, which are denominated genius, but who, on the strength of that very genius, have deemed themselves above all laws of ordinary existence,—have spurned at every check, either to the range of their thoughts, or the freedom of their wills,—comets in the intellectual system of the world.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF CHARACTER.

After this general description, then, of the two leading and pervading peculiarities of the Athenian character, forming as it were the outline and the expression of the portrait we are sketching, we proceed to fill up the picture with some of the more special lines and features which it comprehends; describing first those connected with the genius, and then those pertaining to the morality of the nation; and expecting in the former to find as much to admire, as in the latter we shall meet with little to respect.

1. We have just now seen how the fine organization, the enlivening climate, the soil rich in silver and marble, the communication of Oriental arts, the vernal feeling of an early age, the fanciful system and dazzling services of an imaginative religion, the adorned humanity of antique poetry, the accomplishments of a gymnastic and musical education, the eager competition and the brilliant rewards of a popular government, the riches and the glory of a splendid empire,—all combined their influen-

ces in the formation of an element peculiarly congenial to the growth of mind in general; and out of which we accordingly find emerging individual displays of every variety of talent. But, on descending to particulars, though we perceive in the national mind distinct traces of its capacity for excelling in all departments of genius, yet we observe at the same time the actual expression of favour and patronage from the sovereign people in a great degree limited by the predominant nationality to those classes of pursuits which have a public character, and which are either necessary to the administration, or conducive to the enjoyment of the state.

WARLIKE EMINENCE.

Of those arts which are of importance in the administration of the state, the two most striking are war and eloquence. Of the eminence of Athens in the former art no one needs to be informed. The names of her heroes and of the places signalized by her trophies are household-words to the civilized world. It was not wonderful that a nation trained, as we have seen, to the vigorous exertion of all manly powers, and inflamed with such ardent patriotism and self-esteem should excel in soldierly accomplishments. Hence military virtue seems ever to have remained an esteemed and essential part of the Athenian character even in its darkest ages. Cowardice in the field was always held a disgrace when scarcely any other vileness was contemned.[1] To those, on the other hand, who died for their country as soldiers should, the most lavish national honours were accorded,

[1] See Aristophanes *passim;* and particularly the poignant and sarcastic speech of Lysias against Theomnestus.

—their bodies were entombed in public sepulchres,—their eulogy was pronounced by Pericles or Demosthenes,—their names were engraven on columns of brass or marble,—their memory became a sacred thing to swear by,—their orphans, the pupils and wards of the democracy.[1] Athens, accordingly, always abounded in great captains and a brilliant soldiery. Even Sparta, the city which made military distinction the prime and almost the exclusive object of her whole constitution and policy, did not produce captains at all comparable in number and talents,[2] or achieve exploits approaching in brilliancy to those of Athens. Compared with Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Conon, Iphicrates, and Xenophon, who would rank Pausanias, Lysander, or even the hero Brasidas,[3] higher than second-rate generals? Agesilaus is their only Lacedæmonian peer. In the great war against the Barbarians, it was the Athenians, on the day of Marathon,[4] who taught the Greeks to

[1] Demosthen. de Coron. Thucyd. II. 35–45; Pausan. I. 32. Μόνοι δ' ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων τρία ταῦτ' ἐνομίσατε· τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τελευτησάντων αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπαίνους ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λίγειν· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν ἄχρις ἥβης, καὶ γυναῖκα ἀποπέμπειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρῴους οἴκους μετὰ τῆς παυσκλίας, τοὺς δ' ἀδυνάτους τῶν πολιτῶν δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν. (Aristid. Panath.)

Ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἑστίους ἴγεπψιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύων. (Plut. in Solon.)

[2] Στρατηγοὶ σοφώτατοι, καὶ ἐξύτατοι, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι, καὶ πλείους ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. (Aristid. Panath. 88.) "Her commanders have been distinguished above all others for wisdom, and acuteness, and caution, and equity—besides having been more numerous than those of all the other Greeks put together."

[3] Whom Plato (Conviv. tom. III. p. 221, ed. Serran.) justly compares to Achilles, a great warrior rather than an able general.

[4] Εἰς ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τὰς ὑστέρας μάχας ἐτόλμησαν διακινδυνεύειν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶνι γενόμενοι. (Plato. Me-

dare the contest and to conquer. The trophies of Salamis, Artemisium, Mycale, Eurymedon, almost entirely, and that of Platæa to a great degree, belonged to them. The sacrifice of Thermopylæ, (which, however, is instead of a hundred victories,) and half the triumph of Platæa, are Sparta's share of credit. Even the victory of Ægospotamos, which at length gave her the superiority in military power, was more of the nature of an accident than a just exploit. It may be fairly asserted, indeed, as a general statement, that in all those warlike operations which require the union of skill with courage, of talent with fortitude, the Athenians possessed a decided superiority over their rivals. Hence not only in maritime warfare, but by land,—in the difficult operations of siege, for example, and the assault of fortified places,—their pre-eminence was freely and repeatedly acknowledged by the Lacedæmonians themselves.[2] It must be admitted, however, that the character of Athenian warfare was essentially corrupted in the latter ages of the free commonwealth, and that by various causes. One circumstance which contributed greatly to this degeneracy, both in Athens and in the other Hellenic states, was the practice which avarice or desire of enterprise prompted, and which was encouraged by the anti-population policy of Greece, of the citizens hiring themselves

nexen. tom. II. p. 240.) "The Greeks, fixing their eyes on that achievement, gathered resolution enough to hazard the battles which followed, and so may be justly called disciples of the men of Marathon." See also Isocr. Paneg. p. 51–64.

Ὁ Πίνδαρος Ἀρτεμισίου μυηθείς, ἰσχυρίζηται ὅτι
—— παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβέλοντο φανῆν
Κρανεῖδ' ἰλισθερίας.
(Plut. de Herod. Malign.)

[2] Herod. IX. 70; Thucyd. I. 102.

out to serve whatever master would pay them best, and lead them into the most spirited field of action.[1] The action and reaction of this practice were both equally fatal to the heroic spirit by which Athenian bravery was in its earlier stages distinguished. On the one hand, it directly tended to convert, in those who became mercenaries, the true military temper of honour and patriotism into the professional '*miles gloriosus*' spirit of craftsmen and hirelings; and on the other hand, it led the state to rely for its defence rather on money and mercenary troops than on the patriotic zeal of its own citizens.[2]

Another circumstance peculiar to Athens, which Plato blames for converting her military system into one of calculation and stratagem, is the maritime plan of warfare established by the policy of Pericles at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.[3] On this subject the following remarks of the philosopher are striking and important:—"It had been infinitely better," he says, alluding to the fabled tribute exacted from the Athenians

[1] Thus we find a regular officer of the state with the title of ἐξεταστὴς τῶν ξένων, "purveyor of mercenaries." Vid. Æschin. contr. Timarch.

[2] The celebrated expedition of Cyrus, and retreat of the Ten Thousand, while it is perhaps the most brilliant proof on record of the military talents of an Athenian leader and a Grecian soldiery, even at that corrupted era, furnishes also conclusive evidence of the justness of our remarks. See Heeren's Historische Werke, III. p. 290.

[3] The principle of the system is thus described by Aristophanes:

Τὴν γῆν ὅταν νομίσωσι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
Εἶναι σφετέραν, τὴν δὲ σφετέραν τῶν πολεμίων,
Πόρον δὲ τὰς ναῦς, ἀπορίαν δὲ τὸν πόρον. (Ranæ. 1458–1461.)

"When they shall count the enemy's land their own,
And leave their own land to the enemy;
When they shall choose to march upon the waves,
And deem plain paths o'er land impassable."

by Minos, when Crete was sovereign of the seas, "to sacrifice yearly their seven children than turning mariners instead of regular armed soldiers, to have adopted those principles of warfare to which they are now accustomed. For their manner is to harass their enemies by sudden descents, and then to retire in haste again to their vessels, unconscious of shame, though they dare not confront death nor abide the onset of their foes. But they have obtained plausible pretexts—and these always ready—to justify them in throwing away their arms, and saving themselves by what they call a not inglorious flight."[1] Yet it were unjust to the Athenians to deny that, with all the deductions which may be made on such grounds, bravery—the bravery both of enthusiasm and of resolution—was a distinguishing part of their character, so long as they had a country to be brave for. Even at Chæronea, though Athens fell, she fell with glory, and her slain warriors merited the pathetic epitaph which was inscribed on their tomb, and the funeral oration pronounced by the lips of Demosthenes.

There is one circumstance to be taken into account with respect to the martial distinction of Athens which, even were other circumstances equal, would make her military greatness more remarkable than that of any other nation. Military eminence has been in every other case acquired by the use of disciplined troops. Among

[1] "Εστι γὰρ ἂν πλειονάκις ἐπτὰ ἀπολίσαι παῖδας αὐτοῖς συνήνεγκε, πρὶν ἀντὶ πιζῶν ὁπλιτῶν μομίμων, ναυτικοὺς γενομένους ἰδισθῆναι, πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας, δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δεινὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν, μίνοντας ἐπιφερομένων πολεμίων· ἀλλ' εἰκυίας αὐτοῖς γιγνέσθαι προφάσεις, καὶ σφόδρα ἐτοίμας ὅπλα τι ἀπολλῦσι, καὶ φεύγουσι δή τινας οὐκ αἰσχρὰς, ὥς φασι, φυγάς. (Plat. de Legg. IV. tom. II. p. 706, 707, ed. Serran.)

the Spartans and the Romans, as in modern warfare, the general had nothing to do but to command, the soldier nothing but to obey. Among the Athenians, there could be no such distinct recognition of the difference between the commander and the private soldier. The latter was a judge of the plan of battle; the former was an active warrior in its execution. The common soldier was, equally with the general, a legislator and a judge of the state; and, if abroad he was nominally subject to his officers, so soon as they returned home together, his officers were really subject to him. To him, as a member of the sovereign people, all public servants were responsible, and by his vote they might be acquitted or condemned. In this relative situation of the general and his troops, to conduct a military enterprise to a successful issue, implied a greater genius for command on his part,[1] and a greater genius for operation on theirs, and every achievement effected was more creditable to the talents of both, than it can be in those cases where armies are considered merely as blind masses of mechanical force to be passively directed by the will of an individual, and not as collections of men and citizens having a right to think and feel for themselves.[2]

TASTE FOR ELOQUENCE.

It was thus that, in the military as well as the civil life of the Athenians, a mastery over the arts of persuasion became the most indispen-

[1] Dans tout gouvernement, où le peuple est le distributeur des grâces, où les honneurs sont le prix du mérite, l'esprit de conduite n'est autre chose que le génie même, et le grand talent. (Helvetius de l'Esprit, IV. 13.)

[2] See Prof. Heeren ueber die Feldherrn des Alterthums. Historische Werke, vol. III.

sable of all pre-requisites for a man who aspired to power in the state; and it was from the identity of the qualifications necessary for the management of an Athenian army abroad, and an Athenian *ecclesia* at home, that a union, comparatively rare in other states and ages, is so nearly uniform in the history of Athens,—that of the consummate statesman and the accomplished general in the same individual. The power of persuasion was all in all to a political man at Athens;[1] and hence the unrivalled eminence attained by that art in a state, which has been well described by Hobbes as "an aristocracy of orators, occasionally interrupted by the monarchy of a single orator."[2] Among subsidiary circumstances favourable to the growth of eloquence at Athens, we might speak of the strong constitution, of the delicate ear, of the climate so full of inspiration, of the religion so rich in imagery, of the poetry so congenial in character, and especially of that language made for eloquence, of which a humbler imitator of the great ancients has justly and powerfully said, "that none can approach it in tension, and rapidity, and energy, and all the qualities of debate."[3] But in this case all minor influences disappear from view, in comparison with the predominant control exerted by political circumstances. In a city where oratory was the passport to every place of distinction

[1] In his (Aristide et Themistocle) cognitum est quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentiæ, &c. (Corn. Nep. in Aristid. 1.) "In the case of Aristides and Themistocles, it was proved how much more powerful eloquence was than virtue."

[2] De Corpore Politico, II. 5.

[3] Τοῦ γε διὰ πάντων ἀγῶνες, καὶ τόνου, καὶ δρόμου, καὶ κράτιστος τίς ἂν οἷός σ' εἶη πλησίον ἱλθεῖν, ἰσίραν νομίζων γλῶτταν. (Aristid. Panathen. 83.)

and emolument,—where a populace equally distinguished for perfection of taste[1] and susceptibility of impression was supreme and uncontrolled arbiter of every controversy,[2]—where the alternative of life or death, of glory or infamy, of political power or political overthrow, might hinge upon the pivot of a smooth sentence, or, it might be, a well-chosen word,[3]—where the arena of debate was equally open, and the golden prize of victory equally proposed to all,—where the orator felt himself addressing a whole nation of 'freemen, Greeks, Athenians,'[4] assembled in the full light and air of day, with Marathon and Salamis in view, under the shadow of a mountain sacred to the goddess of counsel and covered with the miracles of her art, upon a theatre where she

[1] Semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, &c. (Cicer. Orat. VIII.) "So sagacious and unsophisticated was their taste, that they could tolerate nothing which was not perfectly pure and select. This bigoted delicacy of taste was a law to the orator."

[2] See the effects of the presence of a multitude in stimulating that eloquence whose characteristic is intensity and power beautifully illustrated in the third volume of Mr Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, pp. 209–213.

[3] Semper oratorum eloquentiæ moderatrix fuit auditorum prudentia. (Cicer. Orat. VIII.) "The sagacity of the audience always acted as a regulator of the eloquence of the orators." Of the infinite pains which Demosthenes took in the elaboration of the minutest clauses of his orations, some very curious instances are given by Mr Brougham in his Inaugural Address to the University of Glasgow, and in the Edinburgh Review, Articles on Demosthenes, vols. XXXIII. and XXXVI.

[4] So we may apply the sentence which Pericles used to repeat to himself in the act of assuming the general's mantle. Περίσχες, Περικλῆς, ἐλευθέρων μέλλεις ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἀθηναίων. (Plut. Apophthegm. Pericl. I.) "Pericles, attend! you are going to command freemen, Greeks, Athenians."

herself had once sat in judgment on the fury-haunted parricide, while gods debated the cause at her tribunal[1] —it is not wonderful that Eloquence should have dilated herself to a fulness of dimension such as she never reached elsewhere.[2] Some idea may be formed of the extent and enthusiasm of the popular passion for eloquence among the Δῆμος Πυκνίτης,[3] from the number of orators and teachers of oratory whose names have descended to us, as having flourished in a period within the limits of an ordinary life. Among the theorists, the subtle Protagoras, the imaginative Prodicus, the elaborate Gorgias, with Polus, Lycymnius, Alcidamas, Theodorus, and Evenus, of inferior note,—among the artists, the Olympian Pericles,[4] the subtle Lysias, the

[1] See the latter half of the Eumenides of Æschylus. It is impossible, on the present occasion, to make but a distant allusion to the Pnyx without calling to mind, that it is to the noble President of the Royal Commission, that the world is indebted for the discovery and restoration of that throne of Grecian eloquence. See Clarke's Travels, Part II., Sect. II., p. 465, and appendix to the Cambridge Marbles, p. 67.

[2] Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam, quod genus, quum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcique Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore, multitudinis alitur. (Liv. XXXI. 44.) "Nor is there ever any deficiency in that city of speech adapted to excite the populace — an accomplishment this, which in all free states, but especially at Athens, where oratory has more sway than anywhere else, is cherished by the public favour."

[3] Aristoph. Equit. 42.

[4] We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the magnificent couplet from which this epithet is taken:

Ἐνσιῶθεν ἐρεχθῆ Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος
Ἡστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

(Aristoph. Acharn. 504, 505.)

"Then, in his ire, Olympian Pericles
Fulmined tempestuous thunder over Greece."

In like manner, Eupolis, though without the majesty of Aristophanes:

sweet Isocrates, the lively Isæus, the sounding Æschines, the austere Lycurgus, the acute Hyperides, the impetuous Dinarchus, the witty Demades, the dignified Phocion, the thunderer Demosthenes, with Antiphon, Andocides, Callistratus, and many others of less distinguished renown,—are names which by their multitude and political importance attest the sway maintained by eloquence over the public mind at Athens.[1] From the time, indeed, when the persuasions of Solon first induced his countrymen not to despair of Salamis,[2] to the period when the collision of Æschines and Demosthenes struck out the spark of that conflagration which consumed the liberties of Greece, all the important events of Athenian history ultimately depended on the dominion of eloquence, and are all so many testimonies of the power with which the national enthusiasm for oratorical greatness invested

> Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
> Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece
> To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.[3]

DISLIKE OF PHILOSOPHY.

While the arts useful in the political management of the state were cultivated with such ardent zeal, those which contributed to its

——— πρὸς δὲ γ' αὖ τούτῳ τάχ' ἡ Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν. Οὕτως ἰκήλει. καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. (Ap. Diodor. Sic. XII. 40.)

"Persuasion sat upon his lips; his words
With such unmatched insinuation stole
Into the heart, and there they turned to stings."

[1] For these names and characters, see Cicero's Rhetorical Works, *passim*, and the Prolegomena to the Works of the various Orators in Reiske's edition.

[2] Demosth. de fals. legat.; Plut. in vitâ.

[3] Paradise Reg. IV. 268–271.

embellishment, or to the social gratification of the citizens, were not neglected. In this part of our subject we find the remark of the Abbè Barthélemi strikingly verified, that "the Greeks (meaning the Athenians) always honoured the talents which contributed to their enjoyment more than those which aimed at their instruction."[1] Thus it is that we observe throughout the era of Athenian independence the fine arts cultivated with unbounded eagerness, while philosophy was, if not contemned and hated, at least neglected and disliked. When Philosophy first found admission into Athens, it was long after Thales in Ionia, and Pythagoras in Magna Græcia, had established flourishing schools which, with no ignoble success, pursued the interpretation of nature. When she did arrive at length, ('sera tamen respexit inertem,') it was under the borrowed garb of a teacher of rhetoric, and handmaid of democracy;[2] and if, in any case, her disguise was seen through, a speedy flight was her best resource. Anaxagoras, the first philosopher who ventured into Athens,[3] and promulgated there the great doctrine of one intelligent Creator, was condemned

[1] Les Grecs ont toujours plus honoré les talens qui servent à leurs plaisirs que ceux qui contribuent à leur instruction. (Voyage d'Anacharsis, Introd. sub. fin.) See especially on this subject the first part of Bishop Warburton's Introduction to his Julian; an Essay which we hesitate not to describe as one of the happiest efforts of that extraordinary genius,—stupendous intellect working with stupendous learning for its tool.

[2] Plato makes Socrates reproach the sophists for having departed, in devoting themselves to politics, from the example of the ancient sages, Hipp. Min. ed. Serran. tom. I. 363.

[3] Οὗτος μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήναζε τὴν διατριβήν. (Clem. Alexandr. Strom. II.) "He transferred the school from Ionia to Athens."

to death by the tyrant populace;[1] and it was with difficulty that even the eloquence of Pericles could save the venerable man, from whose instructions that eloquence was in a great degree derived, on the hard condition of his going into perpetual exile. Protagoras, the celebrated inventor of the *loci communes*, and founder of the school of Sophists, who, while he confined himself to the education of the young demagogues of Athens in the arts of a beguiling rhetoric, was followed with lavish popularity,[2] no sooner began to propound his philosophical opinions, than he was banished by a public decree, and his writings burnt in the public forum. During the whole domination of Pericles, philosophical researches were proscribed under the severest penalties; all who were devoted to them as their profession were by law excluded from the city;[3] and those who were secretly inclined to them were obliged to hold all their communications with each other under the seal of strictest confidence. Even when Socrates, by his gigantic powers and heroic resolution, had succeeded in laying the foundation of a native Athenian philosophy

[1] *Θαυμάσαι δ' ἐστὶν ὡς οὗτος πρῶτος παρ' Ἕλλησι τοῦτον θεολογήσας τὸν τρόπον, δόξας Ἀθηναίοις ἄθεος εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἰθεολόγει, τὸν δὲ ἡλίου ποιητὴν, μικροῦ δεῖν κατελευσθεὶς ἴθανε.* (Euseb. Præp. Ev. XIV. 14.) "It is remarkable that this philosopher, who was the first among the Greeks to adopt such a principle of theology as led him to attribute divinity not to the sun, but to the maker of the sun, was on this very account reckoned an atheist by the Athenians, and narrowly escaped being stoned to death."

[2] Plato. in Meno. ed. Serran. tom. II. p. 91.

[3] *Σοφοκλῆς δέ τις ψηφίσμασι ἐξέλασε πάντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῆς Ἀττικῆς.* (Athen. XIII. p. 610.) "A certain individual of the name of Sophocles, procured decrees of the people, banishing all philosophers out of Attica."

on the ruins of the Protagorean delusions, he paid the forfeit with his life; and though his disciple Plato, the poet of philosophy, and therefore perhaps less obnoxious to a poetic people, escaped without such signal marks of popular dislike, it is plain from the whole tenor of his writings, especially The Republic and The Laws, how far removed he deemed his countrymen from the genuine love of science. This opinion was ratified by Aristotle soon afterwards, when he found it prudent to escape beyond the reach of the democracy, observing, that he was unwilling to give the Athenians occasion of offending twice against Divine philosophy.[1] The fact, therefore, of the popular aversion of the Athenians to the pursuits of pure intellect, is beyond all question; and a sufficient reason for the fact has been already assigned in the ruling nationality of the Athenian mind, which could relish only those displays of intellect that had a public character, and which, moreover, had been naturally trained, by a civilization poetical in its form and spirit, to despise the coldness of abstract truth and loathe the fatigue of its investigation.[2]

[1] Ælian. Var. Hist. III. 36.

[2] The assertions here made, in regard to the dislike of the free Athenians for philosophy, have been objected to by some whose opinions the author is bound to hold in the highest respect. Yet, on re-considering the circumstances of the case, he has not discovered any material facts in opposition to those here adduced, or tending to shew that the love of philosophy had any root in the Athenian character during the existence of the independent democracy; and he cannot help regarding the startling effect which such statements have, as depending on a certain anachronism of feeling, investing the mere name of Athens with a portion of that philosophic glory which she acquired after the fall of her political greatness. That we may not, however, appear to have hazarded an opinion unsupported by high authorities any

INTELLECTUAL ACUTENESS.

It is not to be imagined, however, that this exclusion of philosophy from the range of popular literature at Athens was the result of any deficiency in the national character of those powers which are necessary for its successful cultivation. This is demonstrated by the fact, that on the change of political circumstances which, after the battle of Chæronea, quelled that feeling of political intolerance whence mainly we suppose this peculiarity to have originated, the public mind of Athens, like the great spirit of Cicero, sought in philosophy an occupation which might divert her recollections from the view of her political degradation, and cultivated the pursuits of science with eminent genius and splendid success. Even under the democracy the study of the exact sciences seems to have been so far popular at Athens, that Plato could write over the gate of the Academy, without rendering its groves a desert, Μηδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω, and there make known to intelligent auditors his own beautiful invention of geometrical analysis.[1] But without appealing to such minute and isolated facts, it is easy to point out general peculiarities, in which the

more than unfounded on historical facts, we beg leave to quote the words of an author, who, if any man ever could pretend to be so, was familiar with all that learning which relates to the case before us, the Abbè Barthélemi: "Les connoissances de la philosophie germaient en silence dans les écoles établies en Sicile, et en Italie. Sous Pericles, les recherches philosophiques furent sévèrement proscrites par les Athéniens, et les philosophes osaient à peine confier leurs dogmes à des disciples fidèles. Proscrits, persécutés, bannis, ils apprirent que la vérité, pour être admise parmi les hommes, ne doit pas se présenter à visage découvert, mais se glisser furtivement à la suite de l'erreur."

[1] Leslie's Elements of Natural Philosophy, Introd. p. xxiv.

argumentative character of the people was not obscurely manifested. We find it displayed with remarkable force in the characteristics of that eloquence which was beyond all other pursuits congenial to the taste of the democracy; and which beyond all other literature is remarkable for the character of austerest intellectuality. It might be often employed to make 'the worse appear the better reason;' but still it was reason, in its reality or its semblance, which was the essence of Athenian oratory, and which alone could prevail upon the 'prudens sincerumque judicium' of the Athenian people. The frequent use of the ellipsis and parenthesis, which Lord Monboddo has remarked as contributing so much to the celebrated δεινότης of Demosthenes, is adapted only for an audience of singularly quick and subtle perception of argument.[1] It is curious to observe the taste for reasoning following the people down from the Pnyx and the tribunals to the intercourse of ordinary life, which, among the Athenians, we find constantly taking a great deal more for granted than modern conversation does, making perpetual reference to general principles, under the form either of serious argument or oftener of ingenious sophistry and random experiment in reasoning, and altogether displaying no common degree of controversial zeal and acuteness.[2] The same peculiarity is characteristic of the productions of general literature at Athens,

[1] Monboddo on Language, vol. VI. B. 2. Attici limati et emuncti nihil inane aut redundans ferebant. (Quinctil. Inst. Orat. XII. 10.) "The pure and polished taste of the Athenians could endure nothing of vain parade or redundancy."

[2] "The comedies of Aristophanes, (remarks the most brilliant of modern critics) shew in a more striking point of view than

in which a comprehensive reader can scarcely fail to have remarked a strong tendency to embody, in regular didactic array, the simplest statements or descriptions, where modern writers should never think of having recourse to the formularies of reasoning. Yet, with all this, it must be admitted that during the continuance of the democracy the intellect of the Athenians, powerful though it was, preferred the merest trifles which had any thing of social interest about them to the sublimest speculations of austere intelligence. It had a quick relish for the argumentation of the orators and the dialectics of the sophists, but was exasperated with the sublime speculation of Anaxagoras and the anti-popular good sense of Socrates. Capable of a reach and a subtilty which never was surpassed, when business or amusement was connected with mental exertion, it could not bear the insipidity of pursuing truth for its own sake, nor tolerate the presence of those who devoted themselves to so uncivic an occupation; while it crowned with unbounded popularity all those whose genius laboured for the public enjoyment, in the arts whether of corporeal or of mental luxury—the arts of refined sensuality, or of cultivated imagination.

ANIMAL TASTES.

The first illustration of this remark, which strikes us in surveying the civilized life of Athens, is to be found in the extent to which the

any thing else, the extreme subtlety of understanding of the ancients. Compared with Aristophanes, Rabelais himself is plain and literal." (Edinburgh Review, vol. XXVI. art. Schlegel on the Drama.) See the same peculiarity illustrated in the dialogues of Plato, not merely in those parts in which he professedly discusses

taste for animal pleasures existed in the Athenian character, and the perfection which those arts that minister to sense attained in the Athenian community. These arts and that taste were cherished and refined by many of those peculiar influences which formed the training of the Athenian people. Such were the temperaments so finely compounded,—the sky so bright and voluptuous,—the poetry which in its own nature and especially in its constant combination with music and imitative dance possessed so much of sensible and material interest,—the constant flow of eastern luxury into the Peiræeus and Munychia,—the gymnastic and musical education,—the religion which, in its very essence, was unmingled materialism, and, in its service, was filled with pomps and idols and dance and song and perfume and all sensual dissipations. In this combination of influences, seconded by a government which cherished, and a national spirit which delighted in all public and social indulgences, there was enough to produce that full development of the animal nature of man which is so strikingly characteristic of the national character of the Athenians. On the subject of Athenian luxury, the most abundant materials for detailed illustration—if that were here required—remain to us. Into such an illustration, however, we cannot enter, except so far as to shew in one or two instances that peculiar character of epicurism, and liking for what is fine and exquisite in voluptuousness, which belonged to the animal tastes of the Athenian people.

One of the most beautiful instances in which we

abstruse and subtle points, but in the specimens of gentlemanlike conversation which form so attractive a peculiarity of his works; the opening, for example, of The Republic.

find this remark illustrated, is the passion for flowers and fragrance which displayed itself among them in so many elegant public customs. Thus garlands were a necessary part of their entertainments; they crowned their houses and their heads with flowers on all occasions of rejoicing or solemnity, and they offered them not seldom as gifts to the divinities.[1] So common, in fact, was the use of chaplets, that garland-weaver (στεφανοπλόκος) was the name of a separate profession in Athens,[2] designating, not artists in those mimic flowers which grace the modern toilet with their unfading stiffness, but in the genuine short-lived blooms of nature, which with their own inimitable delicacy and perfume alone could satisfy the purity of Attic taste.[3] The liking for exquisite artificial perfumes seems to have been as characteristic of Athens as the love of natural fragrance. They could be regaled equally with the unsophisticated breath of their own Hymettian flowers, and with the perfumes of Arabian frankincense, or the poignant spirit of Indian essences imported in their far-trading fleets. Thus Athenæus styles the Athenians 'an ointment-loving race;'[4] and when Antiphanes is describing where the various articles of luxury were to be found in greatest perfection, he recommends to the connoisseur to choose his perfumery from Athens.[5] The shops of those who dealt in essences and odours were situated round the

[1] Ῥόδα καὶ θυσῖσι τερπνά. (Anacr. Od. v.)

[2] Plin. H. N. xxxv. 24.

[3] On the subject of Grecian garlands, see the fifteenth book of Athenæus, and Sir Thomas Brown's Miscellany Tracts, No. 2.

[4] φιλόμυρον γένος.

[5] Ἐξ Ἠλιδος μάγειρος, ἐξ Ἄργους λίβης,
Φλιάσιος οἶνος, ἐκ Κορίνθου στρώματα,

chief places of resort, and were frequented as public lounges;[1] and on occasions of high solemnity, not only the temples of the gods, but the altars of the open streets, exhaled all around the costly fragrance of barbaric gums.[2]

Nor was the palate of the Athenians less naturally sensitive, or less curiously learned than their sense of smell. It was among them, indeed, that gastronomy was first advanced to the rank of a science, and the cook dignified with the name of a philosopher.[3] On one occasion they went so far as to reward the invention of a pickle with the freedom of the city,[4]—a distinction which their fathers had refused to the monarch of Macedon, their meritorious ally against the barbarian invader.

'Ιχθὺς Σικυῶνος, Αἰγίου δ' αὐληρίδες,
Τυρὸς Σικελικὸς, μύρον ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν,
ἐγχέλυες
Βοιωτίαι. (Ap. Athen. I. 27.)

"From Elis choose your cook, from Argos plate,
Phliasian wine, Corinthian tapestry,
White fish from Sicyon, Ægian music-girls,
Sicilian cheese, Athenian ointment, eels
Bœotian."

[1] Aristoph. Equit. 1375. Theophrast. Charact. 11.

[2] Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Λαοκόωντι μιτάγων τὰ 'Αθηναίων ἤθη εἰς Τροίαν, φησὶ,

Λάμπει δ' ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρὶ
Σμύρνης σταλαγμοὺς, βαρβάρων ἐυοσμίας.

(Harpocration. in voc. 'Αγυιεύς.)

"Sophocles, in the Laocoon, transferring the manners of the Athenians to Troy, has these words,

Gleams each street-altar, from its spicy flame
Exhaling odours of barbaric myrrh."

[3] See several most amusing quotations on gastronomy in the seventh book of Athenæus. The fishmongers of Athens seem to have been a peculiarly philosophical race of the sophistical school. Τῶν δ' ἰχθυοπωλῶν φιλοσοφώτερον γένος οὔκ ἐστιν οὐδέν. (Denarch. ap. Athen. VI.)

[4] Τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου υἱεῖς 'Αθηναίους ὅτι εἰσήγαγε τάριχος, πολίτας ἀνέγραψαν. (Alexis. ap. Athen. III. 119.) "They made the sons of Chærephilus Athenian citizens on account of his having brought a certain pickle into fashion."

As might be expected, the Athenians, though fond of the pleasures of the table, were nicely delicate in their tastes; they were epicures in the strictest sense of the term, and in this respect strikingly distinguished from their neighbours, the gluttonous Bœotians.[1]

Thus it is that the articles of cookery in which the Athenians excelled were chiefly of the more delicate and elegant kind, such as various sorts of bread, and of confectionary, in the manufacture of which their Hymettian honey gave them great advantages;[2] and

[1] Πίνειν μὲν ἄμμες, καὶ φαγεῖν μὲν ἀνδρικῶς,
Καὶ καρτερῆσαι· τοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι λίγειν
Καὶ μικρὰ φαγίμεν·
(Eubulus ap. Athen. x. p. 417.)

"For we Bœotians eat and drink like men,
Like men endure; but these Athenians
Eat daintily, magnificently talk."

[2] —— Πλακοῦντα
Αἰτεῖ Ἀθήνησι γεγενημένον. εἰ δὲ μή, ἄν που
Αὐτὸν ἴχνης ἐτίρωθι, μέλι ξήτησον ἀπιλθὼν
Ἀττικόν, ὡς τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ ποιεῖ κἀνὸν ὑβρισστήν.
(Archestratus ap. Athen. III. p. 101.)

"Choose thou sweet cakes from Athens; but who e'er
By dire constraint must seek his bread elsewhere,
Let him of Attic honey store provide,
For that's the secret of her pastry's pride."

Πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις εὐγενὴς γεγὼς
Δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξιλθεῖν ποτι τῆσδ' ἐκ στέγης,
Ὁρῶν μὲν ἄρτους τούσδι λευκοσαμάτους
Ἐν ἰπνὸν καταμπέχοντας ἐν πυκναῖς διεξόδοις,
Ὁρῶν δὲ μορφὴν περιβάνοις ἠλλαγμένους,
Μίμημα χωρὲς Ἀττικῆς.
(Antiphanes ap. Athen. III. p. 112.)

"For who of liberal birth and taste
Could find it in his heart to leave a house
In which he sees those snowy-bosomed leaves
Girdling the oven in such goodly ranks,
And marks them change their form before the fire,
Taking the impress of an Attic hand."

Ἐγκρυφίαν, τὸν δ' εἰς ἀγορὰν ποιούμενον ἄρτον,
Αἱ κλειναὶ παρέχουσι βροτοῖς κάλλιστον Ἀθῆναι. (Archestratus ap. Athen. III. 112.)

"Bread baked among the ashes, market-cakes,
Are gifts to men which famous Athens makes."

which appear to have been so seductive that Plato, when compelled by his principles to banish them, along with Homer, out of his republic, does it apparently with similar reluctance.[1] The Athenians seem to have been as delicate with their wine, in respect of quality—though by no means in regard to quantity—as with the edible viands of the table; for the Athenian people, as Aristophanes informs us, "do not feel a greater dislike for your harsh austere poets than they do for your harsh Pramnian wines, astringent to the eyebrows and the stomach—but fragrant, mild, nectar-dropping cups are their delight."[2] It is in reference to these principles of Athenian gastronomy that the most learned of poets, with admirable selectness of epithets, thus invites a classic friend to a classic entertainment:—

> What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
> Of *Attick taste*, with wine, whence we may rise
> To hear the lute well-touch'd, and artful voice
> Warble immortal notes?[3]

We may not proceed further in such details of Attic luxury: but taking a general view of what we know respecting it, we are fairly entitled to say that in the exquisite perfection of all the senses, and the cultivation bestowed on them all, there never was a state to be compared with Athens,—that Athens, where not only the

[1] Οὐκοῦν ψίγυις καὶ Ἀττικῶν πιμμάτων τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι εὐσταθείας; Ἀνάγκη. (Rep. III. tom. II. p. 404.) "Then don't you disapprove of the dainties, so esteemed, of Athenian confectionary? Of necessity I do."

[2] Ἀριστοφάνης λίγυι τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὔτε ποιηταῖς ἥδισθαι σκληροῖς καὶ ἀστιμφίσιν, οὔτε τραμυίοις σκληροῖσιν οἴνοις, συνάγουσι τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθοσμίᾳ καὶ πίσσοι νικταρεοσταγεῖ. (Athen. I. p. 30.)

[3] Milton's Sonnet to Lawrence.

more vulgar sensations of smell and of taste were regaled with a perpetual feast, but where the exquisite eye dictated the graceful forms and arranged the fair proportions which became to Art the models of eternal beauty; where the musical ear was a principal organ of youthful education, and the Odeum formed one of the most powerful bribes by which Pericles knew how to charm the many-headed monster; where physical health and vigour were nursed in the continual use of the palæstra and by the habits of a free, active, airy, sunshiny life; where physical enjoyment and amusement were cultivated by many an essenced bath and shady portico, many a gorgeous theatre and temple of licentiousness; where, in one word, sensuality unfolded itself into a system of unlimited yet recondite voluptuousness, of which when we read the history in Athenæus, we should imagine, did we know no more, that we were contemplating the picture of Sybaris or Capua,—of a state which, dissolved in the indulgences of sense, could have no time nor taste for loftier pursuits. How far from the truth were such a conclusion! For never was there a nation so deeply imbued with spirit as 'this paragon of animals, this quintessence of dust.'[1] Even the sensuality of the Athenians was in some sort spiritual; and its very excesses seem to have resulted from the operation of a highly sublimated principle, though upon gross materials. It was the feeling of insufficiency in what Sense could actually impart to satisfy the craving of enjoyment, that impelled them to torture its powers into such unheard of shapes. It was that lofty longing after the infinite, which appears

[1] Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act. II. Scene 2.

in all their history, that goaded them on to search out the limit as it were of physical enjoyment; and we believe it was this character of Athenian licentiousness that prevented its producing those effects in debasing the imagination, the taste, and the courage of Athens, which are its inevitable results in every state where it is merely animal in its principle and end.

IMAGINATIVE GENIUS.

Side by side with the development of sense in the Athenian civilization stands the development of that faculty which most directly binds together sense and spirit,—the faculty of Imagination. We have already seen how this principle was produced and nourished in the primeval character of the Athenians, how it unfolded itself in the mythology and heroic poetry of Greece, and how the study of Homer became in consequence the basis of Athenian education, and, continuing to be so till the final extinction of the nation, proved a most important means of perpetuating and extending the imaginative spirit. Thus, though the sole dominion which imagination originally wielded over Grecian literature was in process of time divided among other principles, it never lost its hold upon the mind of the nation. Poetry, like Cassandra, was still inspired, when from a princess she sank into a handmaid. The brows from which the tiara of royalty ha passed away were still encircled with the fillet of the god; and ever as the Dionysiac festival[1] brought round

[1] The festival so called occurred twice in the year. The greater or spring Dionysiacs were celebrated in the city, when the contests of the dramatic poets took place. The last or autumnal were solemnized in the country after the vintage.

the spectacles of 'gorgeous Tragedy,' or fantastic Comedy, the Athenians flocked to do the Muses homage, with an intensity and sharpness of feeling still true to Homer and Imagination. In most nations the taste for poetry as poetry, that is, as it is addressed to the imagination, is the privilege of a few selected spirits;

—— Si quem
Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo.[1]

There is, indeed, in most countries something that is called a popular poetry, but this in ordinary cases owes its popularity to accidental associations, without being founded on any real imaginative merit in the productions, and therefore without implying any genuine imaginative spirit on the part of those to whom it is interesting. The case was altogether different at Athens. On the one hand, the taste for poetry was national, and, on the other, the poetry which delighted that taste was in the highest degree imaginative. The whole system of purely Athenian poetry, it is a remarkable fact, was dramatic in its form, that is, was addressed to the nation, (for in their majestic theatres the nation met and sat uncrowded,[2]) and so, was the expression of popular imagination, at the same time that it was the handmaid of the popular patriotism; whether it were Tragedy, stalking on 'Cecropian buskin,'[3] that sang to the people of Minerva the early

[1] Virgil. Georg. IV. 7.
"—— The few, whom favouring Powers allow,
And Phœbus hears, invoked by many a vow."

[2] Socrates (Plato, Conviv. tom. II. p. 175), speaks of more than 30,000 spectators as having attended the representation of his friend Agathon's tragedy.

[3] —— Grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.
(Hor. Od. II. 1.)

fortunes of their race, and the triumphs of their patriot arms,[1] or whether it were Comedy that ran wild through every mode of the lyre, from sublimest frenzy to grossest buffoonery, in the exercise of its high function as the FREE PRESS of Athens. Thus determined to the dramatic form, poetry found a large domain of imagination among the Athenians, both for the tragic and the comic muse. For the one the tradition of the heroic age unfolded its chequered roll, with all its wild pictures of natural and supernatural power in harmony or in conflict, sublimed into ideal grandeur, and overhung with a dim mysterious fateful interest. It was under the lurid light reflected from those far times, that Athenian tragedy assumed that high, superhuman, transcendental air, which, boldly daring in Æschylus, and serenely soaring in Sophocles, so long attracted the admiration of Athenian taste, and the attempt to soften which in a manner less remote from ordinary interest, though made by a master eminent in powers of pathos, brought on Euripides so large a portion of popular obloquy and disparagement.[2] While Melpomene thus found so wide and congenial a field in the past, her sportive sister enjoyed a range as ample and as appropriate in the present, amid the frivolities and humours of a people which then, even more richly than when the epithet was applied by the satirist, merited the appellation of Natio Comœda;[3] and, emancipated from all constraint by the influence of the god whose

[1] We have examples in the Ion of Euripides, and the Persæ of Æschylus.

[2] Aristoph. Ran. 830, ad fin. It is remarkable how seldom Euripides, though beyond comparison the first tragedian of his age, gained the dramatic prize.

[3] Juvenal. Sat. III. 100.

names were Liber and Lyæus,—'the Free,' and 'the Freedom-giver,'—dared boldly

> —— To unmask the public vice,
> And, with an armed and resolved hand,
> To strip the ragged follies of the times
> Naked as at their birth.[1]

THE DRAMA.

It must be remarked, however, that the true old Athenian comedy is a production very different from that which bears the name in modern times; and that it exhibits phenomena which render its popularity in the democracy very difficult to explain. As the subject is both interesting in itself, and has an important bearing on the character of the Athenians, we may be permitted to advert to it here somewhat more particularly. With regard then to the essential nature and principle of the ancient comedy, the learned seem to have remained long contentedly ignorant. It was indeed long considered, by critics unaccustomed to investigate things to their foundations, and habituated to pronounce on every subject according to their own internal standard of propriety, as a literary monster, not only to be left unexplained, but to be *primâ facie* condemned and despised.[2] By the labours of profounder inquirers, especially the Schlegels, the true theory of the old comedy is now somewhat better understood, as well as the splendid ge-

[1] Ben Jonson's 'Every Man out of his Humour.' See Cumberland's Observer, No. 74, and the translation there given of the Prologue of Eupolis to his Comedy entitled Ὁ Δῆμος.

[2] Such was the fashion of Voltaire and his conceited school, whose patriarch, in the plenitude of his ignorant infallibility, pronounced this character of Aristophanes: "Ce poète comique, qui n'est ni comique ni poète, n'aurait pas été admis parmi nous à donner ses farces à la foire St Laurent." (Dict. Philos. *voc.* Athèe.)

nius of its principal author better appreciated. The principle which they propound as that on which the ancient comedy was constructed is simply this: that it is a dramatic composition, in which the metaphorical description of a subject is made real, and exhibited as embodied in actual fact, and as such in its rudest form, one of the most natural productions of the human mind.[1] This is undoubtedly the true account of the invention and plot of the ancient comedy; and with its aid all difficulties in relation to this part of the question can be satisfactorily solved.

But the principal difficulty of the case, as far as it has a bearing on the character of the Athenian people, still remains. For the ancient comedy, in following out its principles, has shown itself so licentious both in its materials and in its mode of treating them,—so daringly intrusive on the most cherished and venerated of the popular feelings,—so utterly without restraint of critical rule, or moral feeling, or political regard,—that its popularity seems to be a fact totally irreconcileable with what we are taught to believe most certainly of the Athenian character—its fine taste, its superstitious intolerance, its political bigotry. It is a question, therefore, which requires to be answered: What were the circumstances which, among a people of delicate taste, gave currency to the ancient comedy with all the literary absurdities which it involved? How was it allowed to insult with insolent mockery the gods, for speaking against whom Anaxagoras and Socrates were condemned to death, and to rub down with the most poignant salt

[1] See Schlegel on the Drama, and Mitchell's Introductory Essay.

of satire the great beast—the sovereign people,—which Pericles was fain to soothe with the bait held out of honeyed speech and festive banquets? This has not been accounted for; but what if the true explanation should be the very simple and intelligible one, that they were all intoxicated—poet, actors, and spectators?

We know that the dramas in question were acted only at the great festivals of Bacchus, when Plato tells us that the whole city got unanimously drunk; and when, with all his moral hatred and eloquent denouncement of this degrading habit, he gives permission to be so in honour of the god,[1] particularly referring to the Comic Theatre as the place where the Bacchanalian intoxication was most unrestrained and public.[2] The information which Athenæus supplies in regard to this fact is very abundant and express. We quote a single sentence: "At the Bacchanalian games, the Athenians having first taken their morning repast, and drunk freely there, went to the spectacle, and during the whole performance were abundantly supplied with wine; the choruses, too, when they were going on the stage, had cups filled for them to drink, and when they had finished their part, and made their exit, their cups were filled again."[3] The old name of Comedy, τρυγῳδία, 'the song of the wine lees,' seems to intimate distinctly its nature as a poem for drunk people; and the great poets of the ancient come-

[1] De Legg. II. tom. II. ed. Serran. pp. 658, 672, 673.

[2] "Ωσπερ ἐν ἀμάξαις εἴδον ποτε παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ. (De Legg. I. tom. II. p. 637.

[3] Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς ἀγῶσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠριστηκότες καὶ πιπωκότες ἐᾴδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν θυμέλην· παρὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα οἶνος αὐτοῖς φυσχοεῖτο· καὶ τοῖς χοροῖς εἰσιοῦσιν ἐνίσχυον πίνειν, καὶ διηγωνισμένοις, ὅτ' ἐξιστορεύοντο, ἐνίσχυον πάλιν. (Athen. XI. p. 464.)

dy, were generally distinguished for their wine-bibbing powers. Cratinus, whose last and most triumphant production bore the appropriate title of 'the Wine Flask', had a monument erected to his memory on account of his talents by the Athenians, who, with their own amusing absurdity, inscribed nothing upon it except that he was a drunkard. Aristophanes was said among his contemporaries to have written his comedies under the inspiration of Bacchus; and he is described by Plato as one of the three survivors at his famous banquet, whom Apollodorus, on awaking next morning, found 'pushing round the great bowl.'[1]

The old comedy, then, was really, in its origin and was probably during its whole duration, considered by a fiction of imagination as a piece of drunken entertainment. And it is on this principle that we think the extraordinary phenomena which it presents are to be explained,—that we can account for the impunity with which, in the face of a tasteful, superstitious, tyrannic populace, it dared to violate all rules of criticism, to ridicule all objects of worship, to satirize all foibles of the despot. A circumstance which strongly confirms the view we have taken of the subject is, that in the beginning of the *Equites*[2]—the play in which the poet ventures on the most dangerous enterprize he ever attempted, the portraiture of Demos himself—he introduces his characters professedly as intoxicated, as if to remind his hearers of the charter under which he presumed on so hazardous a task, 'periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.'[3]

[1] Πίνοντας ἐκ φιάλης μεγάλης ἐκπώματα. (Plat. Conviv. tom. III. p. 223.)

[2] Aristoph. Equit. 85–125.

[3] Hor. Od. II. 1. 6.

But if this be the true idea of the ancient comedy, then the value of any production of the sort must be estimated by a standard entirely different from that according to which we judge of the productions of serious literature. All considerations of delicacy and reserve, whether critical, moral, or political, are inapplicable to the case, because they are disowned in the very abstract idea of the work which supposes all such considerations banished from the mind by the tyranny of Bacchus. That is the best comedy, on the old principle, which is with the fullest overflow of genius extravagant, with the greatest power of intellect and imagination insane; and this is the standard by which we must judge the dramas of Aristophanes, in order properly to apprehend their extraordinary merits, and to understand their general popularity. Judging on this principle, then, while the old comedy must ever remain a standing proof of the immorality of national character among the Athenians, it is no evidence whatever—as it has generally been thought—of the imperfection of their taste in art;[1] nor is it at all inconsistent with the sincerity of their superstitious devotion, or the force of their democratic self-esteem, when they occupied their natural characters, and acted in their sober senses. With the principles of the democratic constitution, indeed, the free-spoken old comedy, except when it directly attacked the sovereign-people, very well harmonized. Its invention, as we are told by Aristotle in his Poetics, was claimed by the people of Megaris, a

[1] See the distinction between the beauty of goodness and the beauty of art, explained with a good deal of mysticism, but with general truth and acuteness, by F. Schlegel, in his Kritik und Théorie, IV.

democratical state.[1] It was first introduced into Athens by Susarion in the 49th Olympiad, shortly after the settlement of the Athenian constitution by Solon; and it was long, like the ostracism, considered by the jealous people an important privilege of their birth-right as citizens. The account which Horace has given of its suppression in his Epistle to the Pisoes,[2] where he describes it as a necessity imposed by the principles of good government, is a misrepresentation of the case altogether. A law was passed, indeed, in the archonship of Myrrichides—probably through the influence of Pericles, though it is by some ascribed to Socrates—retraining the liberty of the old comedy. But the statute could not be maintained in force for more than two years. The truth is, that the old comedy was put down, not by the prudence of a legitimate magistracy, but by the cowardice of the Thirty Tyrants. The old comedy fell with the independent democracy.[3]

PLASTIC ART.

But, to return from this explanatory digression to the consideration of the imaginative genius of the Athenians, we go on to observe that the gradual decay of the purely imaginative poetry at Athens was accompanied with the corresponding improvement of other imaginative pursuits. The most distinguished field in which the imagination of the old Athenians displayed itself was without controversy that of the plastic art. Long before the invasion of Xerxes, a taste for the arts of design had begun to operate in

[1] Poet. cap. III.

[2] Epist. ad Pison. 281.

[3] See Wieland's Note on Horace, *loc. cit.*

Greece.[1] In the series of names which have been preserved of the early professors of those arts we find Athens contributing its full complement to the catalogue;[2] and first of all the patriarch-name of Dædalus.[3] The gradual growth of art, encouraged by the national poetry and national religion, so full of inspiration, so rich in ideal subjects, so incessant in demands on ideal genius, and expanding under a climate formed as it were to cherish and harmonize all that various beauty with which it was crowded, received from the events of the Persian war an impulse which soon carried Athens far beyond all rivals. The necessity of rebuilding the city after its destruction by the barbarous invader, operated as a sudden and irresistible call upon the latent genius of Athens to come forth and array with decoration before unknown the mighty Mother of arts and arms; while the spoils of Marathon and Salamis, the tribute of the nations whom she gathered under her protection, the influx of commercial wealth, and the munificence of her patriotic citizens supplied with exuberant profusion the means of carrying into effect the mightiest conceptions which that genius could form of splendour and of grace.[4]

[1] Pausan. II. 34.

[2] Winckelmann, Histoire de l'Art, VI. 1.

[3] Carlo Fea's Note on Winckelmann, VI. 1.

Μητίωι δὲ τῷ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Ἰφινόης γίγνεται Δαίδαλος, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Δῆμος καλεῖται Δαιδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι. (Schol. in Sophocl. Œd. Colon. v. 472.) "Dædalus was the son of Erechtheus, and from him the borough of Dædalidæ at Athens takes its name." Vid. Diodor. b. IV.

—— Non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax,
Qui sumpsit pennas, mediis sed natus Athenis. (Juv. III. 79.)

[4] Vid. Heyne ap. Winckelmann, vol. I. Note H. Ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτος εἰς τοὺς περίοικους ἐμερίσθη· καὶ μέντοι κἂν τούτοις αὖ πάλιν ἡ πόλις, τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς πράξεσι, διενεγκοῦσα φανήσεται·

The impulse thus communicated by fortune was studiously carried forward and kept alive by the refined policy of Pericles, and under his brilliant administration attained that limit of perfection, of which the Parthenon still stands the shattered but peerless monument.[1]

It was, however, from the character of the early Greek civilization that the plastic art of Athens received its most powerful impulse and derived its peculiar spirit. That art, in truth, was just the mythology and heroic traditions of Greece embodied in colours and in marble; and whatever character of human nature belonged to the one was of necessity the peculiarity of the other. Hence it is that the freedom and flexibility of Grecian art forms exactly the same contrast with the stiffness and constraint of the Egyptian school, as the characteristics of the one religion did with those of the other; and as Winckelmann has well demonstrated, the former contrast was the direct result of the latter. It was this origin, moreover, that gave to Athenian art its high ideality of character; for, as we have already seen, the mythic and

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατεκόσμησε τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήμασι· καὶ τῷ τῆς φύσεως κάλλει τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐφάμιλλον προσέθηκεν, ὥστ' εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀντ' ἀναθήματος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντ' ἀγάλματος. (Aristid. Panathen. p. 53.) "The wealth of the barbarians was shared among the most distinguished of the confederated states. Still in what followed on the distribution of the spoils, not less than in the actual achievements of the war, will the City's pre-eminence be conspicuous. For it was in consequence of this that the Acropolis was adorned with the memorials of victory, and that the decorations of wealth and art were added to the beauties conferred on it by nature,—so that altogether it became as it were one eucharistic offering, or rather perhaps a great image of divinity."

[1] See the gradual progress of art before and after Pericles described in Winckelmann, v. 1.

heroic poetry of Greece exhibited a humanity not only emancipated from constraint, but sublimed into ideal power. In that poetry, then, the artists of Greece found ready constructed those central forms of human beauty, the conception of which, as Sir Joshua Reynolds has illustrated with exquisite taste and sagacity,[1] is the first and most important requisite to the formation of the *grand style* in art. The conception thus created by the poet had only to be expressed in another language by the sculptor or the painter. Phidias, so happily called the Homer of sculpture, was entitled to the name not more from the similarity of his genius than from the care with which he studied the works of his great predecessor. His image of Olympian Jupiter, whose majesty seems to have overawed with inexpressible wonder the minds of the ancient admirers of art, was merely a translation into sculpture of the three celebrated lines of the Iliad,[2] where the son of Saturn is represented giving the nod of fate, and, as the ambrosial locks are shaken on his immortal head and his dark brows lower with the weight of destiny, great Olympus is made to tremble. Nor were the heroic traditions of Greece less fruitful than the mythologic in ideal subjects ready made for the artist's use. The whole strain of these traditions, as we have already observed, seemed intended for the purpose of representing in vivid colours, and under diversified forms, the conflict of mind and fate,

> —— the dread strife
> Of poor humanity's afflicted will,
> Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny;[3]

[1] Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds, III.

[2] Proclus. in Timæum Platon. II. quoted by Junius, De Picturâ Veterum.

[3] Wordsworth's 'Excursion.'

and this, accordingly, we find to be the characteristic feature of those great productions of Grecian art, in which human nature is the subject,—the Laocoon, for example, and the Niobe.

The same general fact which we lately remarked in regard to Athenian poetry, deserves to be noticed as characteristic of Athenian art. The fine arts in Athens were, properly speaking, national pursuits; architecture, sculpture, painting, were public talents. Phidias, Ictinus and Parrhasius[1] produced their divine creations to gratify no private taste, to serve the esoteric fancies of no select and lordly tribe of connoisseurs; they were the nation's ministers; their works the nation's boast; their reward the nation's munificence. Every thing, indeed, that was splendid among the Athenians was public, their private life being as remarkable for frugality and unambitiousness as their national manners for prodigality and pomp.

> Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
> Leges sinebant, oppida publico
> Sumptu jubentes ac deorum
> Templa novo decorare saxo.[2]

[1] Parrhasius, though a native of Ephesus, was a citizen of Athens, and seems from Xenophon's Memorabilia to have been on intimate terms with Socrates.

[2] Horat. Od. II. 15.

"For then no private pride might scorn
A dwelling reared of natural sods,
While sculptured marble rich was borne
The nation's structures to adorn
And temples of the gods."

Vid. Xenoph. de Republ. Athen. p. 403. Οἰκεδομήματα μέν γε καὶ κόσμον τῆς πόλεως, ἱερῶν, καὶ λιμένων, καὶ τῶν ἀπολούθων τούτοις ταυτὸν καὶ τοσοῦτον κατέλιπον ἰκεῖνοι, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι· προστύλαια ταῦτα, νεώσοικοι, στοαὶ, τἄλλα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν· τάς τε ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν ἐν δυνάμει τότε γινομένων οὕτω μετρίας, καὶ τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ὀνόματι ἀπολούθους, ὥστε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος, καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου, καὶ Μιλτι-

In going back, then, on what we have said of the whole range of imaginative art at Athens, and remembering its thorough nationality of character, what must we conceive to have been the fineness of the imaginative feeling in the breasts of a people, which inspired them with a genuine relish for the productions of an ideal genius so clear and pure, so independent of vulgar trickery and sentimental sympathy and all adventitious interest, as that which breathes in Athenian poetry and Athenian art! What must have been the wideness of its range, which, sensitive to the impulse of imagination in all the various phases of its starry influence—its power in Homer, its ethereality in Pindar, its audacity in Æschylus, its harmony in Sophocles, its richness in Aristophanes, its mellowness in Euripides, its divine sublimity in Phidias, its truth to nature in Praxiteles, its enchanting gracefulness in Myron, its expressive subtlety in Parrhasius, its fanciful boldness in Zeuxis, its heroic dignity in Timanthes, its finished perfection in Apelles,[1]—enabled the national taste to harmonize with

ἄδου, καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν, εἴ τις ἄρα οἶδεν ὑμῶν ἱκανά τ' ἐστὶν, ἔρᾳ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν. Demosthen. *περὶ Συντάξ.* p. 101. "The structures and decorations of the city, the temples, the harbours, and similar public works,—these have been left by our ancestors in such multitude and splendour as to render the attempt to surpass them hopeless. Only look round you on the propylœa, the docks, the porches, and all the other edifices with which they have transmitted to us the city furnished and adorned. But the private houses, on the other hand, of such as were then in power, were always so unambitious and suitable to republican equality, that whoever among you has seen the dwelling of Themistocles, or Cimon, or Aristides, or Miltiades, or others illustrious in their day, knows that they are distinguished from those around them by no superior splendour."

[1] For these characters we must

them all! And what, finally, must have been the power of that pervading enthusiasm for imaginative art, which wrought so intensely in exciting the genius of poets and of artists to efforts so brilliant in execution and so exuberant in number, as to have made the era of Pericles the brightest page, not merely in the history of Athenian civilization, but in that of the ideal genius of mankind!

TASTE.

Out of the various growth of talent which we have described, it was natural that another principle yet more refined and ethereal should arise in the Athenian character. That principle is the faculty of intellectual Taste. Considering this name, as descriptive of the faculty which enables us to form a nice and accurate estimate of the works of art, it is plain that the perfection of taste will naturally spring from the perfect development of the power which supplies it with materials, with models, and with experience. For the power of judging of art, like all the other mental powers, must be improved just as it is exercised, and it will be exercised just in proportion as the essays of art in all departments are multiplied. In the causes, then, by which the perfection of the various liberal arts was produced among the Athenians, are involved the reasons of that high finishing of taste which completed their mental character. Ever as the powers of the creative faculty were improved, the perceptions of the judging faculty were refined in the same degree; and thus it was that, in the natural pro-

refer generally to the remains of the poets whose names we have enumerated, and to the information which Winckelmann has collected with regard to the characteristic peculiarities of the artists.

gress of the fine arts at Athens, that bloom of national taste at last evolved itself, which distinguished the age of Sophocles and the Parthenon.

> —— So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk; from thence the leaves
> More airy; last the bright consummate flower
> Spirit odorous breathes.[1]

To this its origin, not in any accidental bias but in the natural growth of mind, the taste of the Athenians is indebted for the grand peculiarity by which it is distinguished, the absolute naturalness of its standard. Contemplating Nature, yet unwrinkled by age and unperverted by affectation, in a land where, as Schlegel says, "beauty grew wild," and amidst the charms of a vernal existence, they sought no models nor criterion of beauty away from her. The beauty of Athenian art is beauty of the simplest and most obvious kind; a beauty which depends more on perception than on conception; a beauty really existing in nature, not created by the imagination; a beauty of which intellect can point out the causes in the actual qualities of the objects admired, and needs not to seek an explanation in the reflex emotions of the admiring mind.[2] Athenian taste was, in truth, the passionate love of Nature, both in matter and in mind; and the most recondite of its feelings was only that of the limit of nature;[3] not of our nature, indeed, but of their

[1] Paradise Lost, v. 479–482.

[2] See this distinction between *objective* and *subjective* beauty, as the Germans phrase it,—the grand distinction between the classical and the romantic, or the ancient and the modern styles,—illustrated in Schlegel on the Drama, chap. I.

[3] Une infinité des choses qui sont idéales pour nous, étoient naturelles pour eux. (Winckelmann, Histoire de l'Art, IV. 1.) Cf. Caylus, Recueil de l'Aca-

own, which made "an infinity of objects that are ideal to us, natural to them." The traces of this principle are distinct on the whole system of art and literature at Athens, its architecture, its sculpture, its oratory, its tragedy, its manners, and, we scruple not to add, when interpreted on right principles, its comedy. The fairest abstractions of Athenian art were modelled after living forms of loveliness;[1] and the essence of the Attic style in literature was freedom from the forced, the affected, and the unnatural. Hence arises the want of interest which characterizes the monuments of Athenian genius to those who have been fed from infancy on nothing but the stimulants of modern literature, and have never been trained by classical discipline to that austere discrimination of what is true and natural which is the only healthy tone of genius, and with the loss of which in the literature of a nation the only safeguard against endless extravagance is removed. 'Attic,' in literary taste, is merely the superlative degree of 'classical.'

LOVE OF BEAUTY.

But in speaking of the taste of the Athenian people, we do not mean by that term—according to its more technical import—the mere capacity of judging of art, we intend, according to the ordinary use of language, to describe, under a general term, a number of those more minute and subtle peculiarities of mind which generally distinguish a refined from a rude and uncultivated intellect. Among all the various feel-

demie des Inscriptions, tom. XIX. p. 451.

[1] The Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, and the Cnidian Venus of Praxiteles, were taken from the celebrated Phryne. Athen. XIII. p. 500. See other instances in Plin. H. N. XXXV.

ings of this description which have been concentrated in the faculty denominated Taste, that of beauty seems to have exercised the greatest power over the Athenians, and to have been cultivated with greatest assiduity, as ministering most directly to the embellishment of their own adored city, and flattering most delicately their cherished national vanity. The Athenians seem to have been the first nation in the world that discovered, as it were, the virgin idea of beautiful form; and they worshipped it with the fervour of a first love. It pervaded all their mind and life, and diffused a spirit of grace over the greatest and pettiest details of their existence. It made them the builders of the Parthenon, and the inventors of the potter's wheel;[1] it gave them Phidias

[1] Τόν τι τροχὸν γαίης τι καμίνου τ' ἴκγονον ἰδρε,
Κλεινότατον κέραμον χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον,
Ἣ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι κατασταθέσα τροπαῖον.
(Critias ap. Athen. I. p. 18.)

"The potter's wheel, the potter's sherd
The housewife's glory, came
From her, at Marathon who reared
The trophy of her fame."

Fabricam ferrariam invenere Cyclopes; figlinas Corœbus Atheniensis. (Plin. H. N. VII. 56.)

It appears extremely probable from late discoveries, that the origin of that exquisite manufacture of which the Etruscan vases consist, may be traced to Greece, and particularly to Athens. It was from the potteries which it contained, that the celebrated district of Athens called the Ceramicus derived its name. (Plin. H. N. XXXV. 12.) Vid. Meursii Ceramic. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. IV.

The only part of the Athenian remains which seems to form an exception from the general beauty, is their coinage, which is all along of singular and primitive rudeness. Many theories have been proposed to account for this circumstance. De Pauw attributes it to economy —an economy which in no other department of the fine arts did the Athenians ever practise. Pinkerton imagines that the fine coinage might have been called abroad, and that the coins we find in Attica were merely the coarsest,—a theory totally unsupported by facts. The theory of Lord Aberdeen and Mr Walpole, in their Essay on this

the sculptor, and Architeles the stone-hewer.[1] The same perfect and instinctive taste, which moulded the majestic graces of the Panathenaical Minerva, breathed in the outline of the earthen pitcher with which the Athenian handmaid used to draw water from Callirrhoe.[2] In short, the whole existence of the Athenians seems to have been spent under the continual impression of beauty, particularly the beauty of form, either conjured up by the thoughtful mind itself from its treasures of internal taste, or reflected from the visible shapes of loveliness with which Nature or Art had embellished 'the museum of Hellas,'—'the hearth and prytaneum of the Greeks,'—'the Greece of Greece,' on every side.[3]

URBANITY.

Yet it was not in the sense of beauty merely that the peculiarity of Athenian refinement consisted, but in the combination of a thousand dim and delicate feelings, which scarcely have obtained separate

subject, is by far the most probable,—that the estimation in which the Athenian silver, on account of its purity, was held abroad, made the Athenians cautious of changing its appearance, so as to create suspicion of any debasement. In the same manner, they remark, the Venetian zecchia, a very uncouth and unseemly coin, never underwent any improvement on its appearance, in consequence of its becoming the current coin of Turkey. (Walpole's Memoirs on Turkey, chap. XXVIII.)

[1] Winckelmann, IV. 2.

[2] See the account of the discoveries of ancient *terra-cottas* in the wells of Athens, contained in Clarke's Travels, vol. III. c. 14.

[3] Τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἣν ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα ἴφη. Θουκυδίδης δ' ἐν τῷ εἰς Εὐριπίδην ἐπιγράμματι Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα· ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἑστίαν καὶ πρυτανεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. (Athen. v. p. 187.) "The museum of Greece, which Pindar called the bulwark of Greece, and Thucydides, in the epigram addressed to Euripides, the Greece of Greece, and the Pythean Apollo, the hearth and prytaneum of the Greeks."

names in intellectual philosophy, but which may generally be described as constituting the Attic urbanity. The το αστειον of which we now speak, it is easier to feel in reading Aristophanes,[1] than to describe in any language less flexible and discriminating than his own. It was very far from being equivalent to that extreme and almost morbid sensitiveness to every thing tending directly or indirectly to convey disgusting associations, which distinguishes good manners in modern times. From the slight degree of intercourse subsisting between the virtuous portions of the two sexes, Athenian urbanity was of a thoroughly masculine character, and deeply tinged with that indelicacy which was never before the promulgation of Christianity felt as a sin against taste, perhaps not even as an offence against morality. What we should consider indeed as its discriminating peculiarity,—the produce obviously of that system of government which united in one sovereign society all the gradations and the very extremes of rank,—is the universality of apprehension and relish by which it was enabled to sympathize with every mode of striking, pleasing, amusing, poignant, or expressive thought and diction, and to take in all those impressions which give zest to social intercourse, whether such as with us excite the roar of the rabble on the street, or such as send a smile through the circles of a court. Under this name we include at once that remarkable susceptibility of wit and humour

[1] Hence the famous epigram of Plato:

Αἱ χάριτες τίμιόν τι λαβεῖν ἴσπερ ἰσχὺ ᾔσιοῦται
Ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὗρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

"The Graces sought a shrine
Which ruin ne'er might seize;
They found a soul—that soul was thine,
O Aristophanes!"

which could trace them in all their ever-shifting hues, from the most ribald buffoonery of Aristophanes up to the most ethereal irony of Plato; that delicate feeling of propriety which made the democracy abstain from reading the intercepted letter of its most formidable enemy, because it was addressed to his wife;[1] that love of order, of proportion, of congruity, of the το πρεπον in the widest sense, which is displayed in the Athenian mode of grouping, whether in the act of placing some fair and stately edifice amid the surrounding loveliness or majesty of Nature, or of arranging the masses of poetry in a Sophoclean tragedy, or of adapting every word and pause to produce effect in a Demosthenic oration; and in a word, that peculiar indescribable air of what we can call by no other name than their own, that Atticism[2] corresponding in some degree to the air of high fashion in modern times, only far more intellectual,—compounded of wit, and elegance, and politeness, and vanity, and the sense of dignity, and the expression of irony in their own peculiar sense of the term,[3]—making a man feel his inferiority without giving him an opportunity of being

[1] Plut. de ger. Rep. III.

[2] Ille Latinus ἀττικισμός. Cicer. ad. Attic. iv. 17. "Atticus lepos" is Jerome's phrase. Epistol. 101.

[3] Genus est perelegans et cum gravitate salsum. (Cic. de Orat. II. 67.) "It is a style of peculiar elegance, combining gravity with poignancy."—De Græcis autem, dulcem et facetum, festivique sermonis, atque in omni oratione simulatorem, quem εἴρωνα Græci nominaverunt, Socratem accepimus. (Cic. de Off. I. 30.) "We have been taught to conceive of Socrates as a most agreeable and amusing companion, of a cheerful style of conversation, and in every thing he said making use of that elegant sort of affectation which the Greeks call *irony*."—See a very happy, though according to the author's fashion, somewhat overloaded description of Athenian irony in Wieland's Aristipp. I. 8.

offended, which communicated to their very countenance the inimitable Attic glance,[1] and seasoned their speech with the unrivalled poignancy of Attic salt.[2]

GENERAL MENTAL CHARACTER

From the preceding review we may form a tolerably correct idea of the general mental character of the Athenians, as displayed in their tastes for literature and art. Directed by predominant nationality, and trained under appropriate influences, their whole genius was of a public character; they disliked, with more than simple aversion, what was private and abstract; they cherished, with more than simple enthusiasm, what was social and popular in intellectual pursuit; they banished philosophy and worshipped art; they cared not to be informed, but they liked to be swayed, excited, entertained; they could not endure

[1] Ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου σ' ἐστὶν Ἀττικὸν βλίττος. (Aristoph. Nub. 1177.)

This said Attic glance is described in the context as consisting in an expression of countenance equivalent to the question τί λέγεις; with which the true Athenian knew how to check the presumption of loquacious strangers, who, perhaps, after having taken great pains to be brilliant in such company, and flattering themselves that they had succeeded in impressing their auditor with a high esteem of their powers, were suddenly struck dumb by the question, asked with a most provoking coolness and apparent innocence of comprehension: "What say you?" τοῦτο τοὐπιχώριον, τὰ, τί λέγεις σύ; Ibid. 1174, 5.

[2] Καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενίλου φάγομ' ἂν ῥῆμά τι
Εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενον ἢ λευκοὺς ἅλας;
(Aristoph. ap Athen. IX. p. 367.)
"How could I swallow words like his,
Steeped in white salts and vinegar?"

The metaphor of salt in conjunction with the epithet 'Athenian' is not employed at random: one of the principal manufactures of Attica having been sea-salt of remarkable fineness and flavour. (Mannert's Geographie des Griechenlandes, p. 271.)

what Heraclitus called the 'dry light'[1] of pure science, but turned to regale themselves with the arts of sense, imagination, feeling, and taste,—the 'watery light' which hangs rainbows in the clouds, and sheds a dewy garniture over the green earth. Their national mind was more lively than strong; more ingenious than profound; more brilliant than solid; but of all lively, ingenious, and brilliant characters it was the most vivacious, the most acute, and the most splendid.

We conclude this part of our subject with the eloquent eulogy on the genius of the Athenians, pronounced by a distinguished scholar of another country:—

"They were the first nation in the world," says Wieland, "that turned into amusement the whole system of social and mental activity, and by making this amusement a national object formed for themselves a national character, which made them in comparison of other nations what their own Aspasia or Alcibiades would have been wherever they had appeared. They were the first who out of the most essential distinction of man above the other animals—language—were able to create an art, and that art the most powerful of all. Song, instrumental harmony, and dance, were with them combined in one music. To them alone the Goddess of Beauty, with the Graces, her inseparable playmates, revealed herself, and shed her own magic over all their

[1] Αυγὴ ξηρὰ ψυχὴ ἀρίστη vel σοφωτάτη,—a maxim ingeniously commented on by Lord Bacon in his Advancement of Learning, book I. Works, vol. I. p. 5. The true reading of this maxim is disputed. Wesseling reads it perhaps more intelligibly αὖη ψυχὴ ἀρίστη, 'animus siccus est optimus.' If the old form is to be retained, perhaps we should read ψυχῇ in the dative, 'a dry light is best for the mind.'

works. Grace was diffused over all they said and did. They alone found out the secret of blending the sublime with the beautiful, the useful with the agreeable. Their legislators were poets, their heroes sacrificed to the Muses, and their philosophers to the Graces. The most abstract conceptions of the human understanding acquired from the fancy of their poets, under the pencil of their painters and the chissel of their sculptors, a beautiful life, and became lovely, heart-exalting images. Even religion—among most other nations so grim and terrible—obtained among them a philanthropic form; the gods of other nations were hieroglyphical monsters, theirs were abstractions of perfect humanity. Their mysteries were, as Cicero says, a benefaction to the world; and in their secret darkness, where other nations were alarmed by a thousand spectres of superstition, they spread cheerfulness through life, and infused hope into death. In all this was expressed the serene, free, youthful spirit of the Greeks, which working with a sort of gay capricious enthusiasm, drew them continually onwards from one beautiful amusement to another. All their fine arts had a certain point of time when they were passionately pursued, loved, and rewarded: even the inconstancy of their character proved for the advantage of art, as they never lingered long beside any single model of beauty, any single stage of art, any manner of a single master, but always desired what was more new if not more beautiful."[1]

2. We now turn, in the second place, to contemplate a scene less pleasing but more instructive, the moral character of the Athenians, as unfolded in their politics and manners.

[1] See Wieland's Note on Horat. Ep. II. 1. 99.

ACTIVITY. The first circumstance which strikes us in this department of our subject, is the incessant activity of the Athenian people. The whole system of causes from which the Athenian character sprang, was a combination of the elements of activity. The well-strung frame, the lively scenery, the exhilarating air, the youthful age, the religion which was one great type of nature's activity, the poetry whose principle was action, the education whose end was the development of energy, the government which made every separate citizen a public agent, the empire which poured materials of endless exertion in one unbroken stream into the forum,—all these influences, in their separate operation, and especially when pervaded, as we have seen them, by one ruling spirit of nationality, created in Athens a spring of everlasting motion. The love of the democracy was necessarily the love of action. The freedom which that democracy in its finished form provided, and to which at all periods of its progress it tended, was not that *personal* liberty which is enjoyed in repose, but that *political* liberty which invests every citizen with a direct share in the management of the state, and the whole body of citizens with unlimited despotical authority,—the freedom which is thus the element of constant passive agitation in the production of wars abroad and revolutions at home, and of constant active exertion in the discharge of public trusts and the evolution of public talents,—the freedom which supplies unlimited scope for the display of ability, and innumerable materials for the excitement of passion. If we look at the system either of domestic habits or of foreign relations which grew out of this national constitution, we

shall be able to judge whether the spirit of national self-love in the Athenians could be any thing but the spirit of restless activity. Their constitution, which rendered every citizen a public officer, forced every citizen to spend a public life. Hence Solon's "peculiar and paradoxical law," as Plutarch calls it, which inflicted the penalty of disgrace, or as some authors report it, of death, upon every citizen who in the case of a civic dissension refrained from choosing a side.[1] The business of the forum commenced at day-break, and was all transacted in the eye of the sun, by stirring men, collected in large masses, and wielded by an eloquence which knew how to rouse into tumult every element of activity in their character. The time which was not occupied in public business was filled up, by the policy of the statesmen and the imaginative tastes of the people, with public amusements, with festivals, pomps, and theatrical exhibitions. The grand principle, in short, of the Attic demagogues, as explained by their great master Pericles, was to keep the people constantly either employed or entertained.[2] This system of public life among the Athenians, rendered necessary by the political constitution, and co-operating with the causes before enumerated, made activity the very soul of their being, and cherished all those personal habits which are of an active and social description. They were early risers,[3] fond of exercise,[4]

[1] νόμος ἴδιος καὶ παράδοξος. (Plut. in Solon. Vid. Cic.)

[2] Mitford, xiv. 1.

[3] —— σπεύσαθ', ὡς ἴσως ἐχεῖ
Τοῖς μὴ παροῦσιν ἐρρέως ἐς τὴν Πνύκα,
Ὑποστρίχειν ἔχουσι μηδὲ πάνταλον.
(Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 282.)

"Haste! haste! for at the Pnyx, whoe'er
Shall not prevent the morning dawn,
May find his way back as he can,
For nothing waits him there."

[4] Κατὰ τὰς ἑδοὺς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς περιπάτους· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀναυμενὴς ἀκοπωτέρους τῶν ἐν δρόμοις εἶναι.

constant frequenters of public walks and lounges,[1] immeasurable talkers,[2] passionate news-mongers,[3] fond to excess of baths,[4] festivals,[5] spectacles,[6] nicknames,[7]

(Plat. Phædr. *sub. init.*) "I will walk to day along the roads, for Acumenus tells me I shall find them less fatiguing than the race-course."

[1] Μόνον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οἰκοῦντας. (Isocrat. de Permut. p. 317.) "Men that all but live in the courts of justice." Πολὺ δ' ἐργαστηρίῳ, πολὺ δὲ μίρει τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ διημερεύουσιν. (Theophrast. Charact. 9.) "In what shop or corner of the forum will you not find them killing time?"

"Namque omnes plateas perreptavi, gymnasia, myropolia,
Apud emporium atque in macello, in palæstrâ atque in foro,
In medicinis, in tonstrinis, atque apud omnes sedes sacras."
(Plaut. Amphit. IV. 1.)

[2] Τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὡς φιλολόγος ἐστὶ καὶ πολυλόγος. (Plat. de Legg. I. tom. II. p. 641.) "All the Greeks have this idea of the city, that it talks much, and that it talks *con amore*."

[3] See the inimitable passage in the first Philippic, beginning Ἅπαντα βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, αὐτῶν περιιόντες πυνθάνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν "Λέγεταί τι καινόν;" (Dem. Philipp. I. p. 32.) "Will you then, I ask you, continue wandering about the public places, inquiring of each other, 'Do you hear any thing new?'"—Cf. Acta Apost. XVII. 21.

[4] See frequent allusions to these in the speech of Demosthenes against Conon. Οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις στασιάσεις ποιοῦμενοι. (Theophr. Charact. 9.) "Some forming coteries in the public baths."

[5] Ἄγουσι μὲν ἑορτὰς διπλασίους ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι. (Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. p. 407.) "They celebrate twice as many festivals as the other Greeks."

[6] Καὶ γὰρ θεάματα πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα κέκτηται (ἡ πόλις·) τὰ μὲν ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερβάλλοντα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐνδεικνύοντα, τὰ δὲ ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις διαφέροντα. (Isocrat. Paneg. p. 49.) "For in public spectacles of all descriptions—whether their pre-eminence depend on their sumptuousness, or on the display of art which they contain, or on both these circumstances combined—the city excels all other nations in respect both of number and of magnificence."

[7] Πίρδιξ μὲν εἷς κάπηλος ὠνομάζετο
Χωλός· Μινίσκῳ δ' ἦν χιλιδὼν τοὔνομα·
Ὀσουντίῳ δ' ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἴσχων κόραξ.
Κορυδὸς Φιλοκλέης· χηναλώπηξ Θεαγένης·
Ἶβις Δυσεύργυ· Χαιρεφῶντι νυκτερίς·

music,[1] dances,[2] symposia,[3] clubs;[4] every thing, in short, that supplied a social stimulus to the senses or the mind.[5]

It was not, however, the *internal* arrangements merely, but the external relations also of the commonwealth, which made the love of the republic synonymous with the love of action; nor was it in their private manners only, but in their foreign politics, that this activity displayed itself. Athens was at once the greatest commercial and the greatest manufacturing town in Greece; she was head of a faction, and patroness of the democratic principle throughout the Hellenic body. She acted as the high protecting power of a great, jealous, unmanageable con-

Συραπουσίφ δὲ κίττα· Μειδίας δ' ἰκτῖ
Ὄρτυξ ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὄρτυγι
Τῷ στυφοκόμπου τὴν κιφαλὴν πεπληγμένῳ.
(Aristoph. Av. 1292–1299.)

"Thus Partridge one lame inn-keeper was called;
Menippus was named Swallow; Philocles
Was Lark; Opuntues One-eyed Raven hight;
Gander passed current for Theagenes;
Snipe for Lycurgus; Bat for Chærephons;
For Syracusius Jay; then Midias
Was surnamed Quail, for he was like a quail,
By some pugnacious rival knocked on the head."

[1] See the fourteenth book of Athenæus, and the treatise of Plutarch on music.

[2] Οὕτως δ' ἦν ἔνδοξον καὶ σοφὸν ἡ ὄρχησις, ὥς τι Πίνδαρος τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὀρχηστὴν καλεῖ "Ὀρχηστά, ἀγλαΐας ἀνάσσων, εὐρυφαρέτρᾳ Ἀπόλλον." (Athenæ. I. p. 22.) "So honourable and sage an accomplishment was dancing accounted, that Pindar gives the name of Dancer to Apollo:

"O Dancer, king of gracefulness,
Wide-shafted Archer-god."

Cf. Corn. Nep. in Epaminond. II.

[3] For examples see the Symposia of Plato and Xenophon; and for details the Deipnosophists of Athenæus.

[4] Athenæ. VIII. p. 365; XIV. p. 614.

[5] Curious details on all these subjects, and on the corresponding fashions in modern Greece, are to be found in Douglas's Essay on certain points of resemblance between the ancient and the modern Greeks, and De Guy's letters on Greece.

federation, united for objects of the highest importance; and she was bound up as a principal party in the foreign politics of the then civilized world. All the complicated transactions which such a state of things involved were managed directly by the will of twenty thousand citizens, all equal in rank and right, and all jealous of their own and their nation's dignity.[1] The intense excitement and constant activity of the public mind which such a concentration of all elements of motion must have produced, is a thing to be imagined not described; or if described, let it be in the words of those who saw the machine in operation: "Consider," said the Corinthian ambassadors at Sparta, "what manner of men the Athenians be. They love innovation, and are swift to devise and also to execute what they resolve on. They are bold beyond their strength, adventurous above their own reason; and in danger, hope still the best. They are stirrers, and love to be abroad. They, when they overcome their enemies, advance the farthest; and when they are overcome by their enemies, fall off the least; and, as for bodies, they use them in the service of the commonwealth as if they were none of theirs; but their minds, when they would serve the state, are right their own. Unless they take in hand what they have once advised on, they account so much lost of what they possessed; and when they take it in hand, if they obtain any thing, they think lightly of it in respect of what they look yet to win; if they fail, they do what is necessary

[1] See Xenophon's description of the immense mass of political business transacted by the body of Athenian citizens, and the observations which he makes in explanation of the policy which had made these arrangements. (Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. pp. 404, 407.)

for the present, and enter straightway into other hopes. For they alone at once both have and hope for whatever they conceive, through their celerity in execution of what they once resolve on. And in this manner they labour and toil all the days of their lives. What they have they have no leisure to enjoy for continual getting of more; nor holiday esteem they any but whereon they effect some matter profitable; nor think they ease with nothing to do a less torment than laborious business; so that, in a word, to say they are men born neither to rest themselves nor suffer others, is to say the truth."[1]

SUSCEPTIBILITY OF IMPULSE AND CONSEQUENT INCONSTANCY.

In the preceding extract, we find mixed up with the expression of that highly-stimulated activity which we adduced it to illustrate, the description of a remarkable and almost sublime energy of determination and pursuit, as distinctive of the Athenian character. But this latter peculiarity must be considered as belonging only to a particular age: for decision would be the last of all qualities, which any one who takes a comprehensive view of Athenian history would select, by which to characterise the national mind. The spirit of Athens, while she seemed to pursue that bold and vigorous course which the Corinthians describe, was yet fresh amidst the excitement of great objects and great achievements, without having had time to tire of them, or having met with the check of any serious disappointment to disgust her with them. The heat of her enthusiasm had not as yet been cooled by time or accident. For even in her

[1] Thucyd. I. 70, slightly altered from Hobbes's Translation.

age of glory, when Athens stood the bulwark of liberty and human civilization, the love of independence and of warlike fame which inspired her was less a principle than a passion; for the time all other motives were overborne and absorbed; the whole combustible spirit of the nation was kindled with one ardent flame; and, from such remoteness, we see not how fast the materials of the glory are consuming away, amid the blaze of a conflagration for this very reason the more brilliant that it has been excited and fanned by a sudden blast of enthusiasm. But presently a change comes over the spirit of the scene. Satiated with victory, and drunk with liberty, but unable to endure the tedium of indolent enjoyment, Athens, under the direction of a master-politician, who saw the crisis, and knew how to turn it to his own aggrandizement, was seized with a new appetite as unbounded in its sway, and as dazzling in its results, as ever had been the thirst of military distinction,—the popular passion for pleasure and the fine arts, which has immortalized the administration of Pericles. And yet later, when the disasters and humiliations of the Peloponnesian war had fretted the national mind into peevishness, and the progress of civic corruption had limited the sphere and degraded the aims of the nation's regards, we find their once noble activity degenerating into the restlessness of a chafed infant, wasting those energies on petty intrigues at home which used to be expended on great enterprizes abroad. There is nothing in the character of his countrymen of which Demosthenes more frequently and bitterly complains, than a certain faintness of hope, or rather recklessness of feeling in regard to consequences, mixed up with a feverish vacillation in

the choice of expedients, which form an exact contrast to that spirit of the olden time which he laboured with such patriotic ardour to revive.[1] The truth is, that this process of gradual degradation is just the natural history of the love of excitement wherever it becomes a ruling principle in character. It may have originated, perhaps, in circumstances which warranted its whole enthusiasm, and in which the mind derived the pleasure of poignant stimulus from the discharge of great duties. But when such occasions pass away and leave the thirst of excitement undiminished or rather increased, (as all habits of mind are strengthened by indulgence,) then, either principle must obtain and exert a stern controul over appetite, or the passion for stimulants must have recourse to new objects, and, as the sources of virtuous and legitimate excitement are exhausted, must repair to fountains less pure and less sublime. Thus it happened that the gay and gallant enthusiasm of the age of glory at Athens presently declined into a morbid passion for indiscriminate excitement; and that the general result of the restless tumult of action which was constantly going on in the heart of the state uncontrouled by permanent superior principle, was to produce in every nerve of the national character a feverish excitability, which frequently rose to absolute delirium. No town was ever so subject to mania as Athens, and nowhere was it more overpowering in its force, or more transient in its duration; whether it were the mania of universal empire which dictated the fatal

[1] See especially the first Philippic and the emphatic character given of the Athenians in the second Olynthiac: ἡμῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ψηφιζομένων, καὶ πυνθανομένων. (P. 16.) "Constantly putting off, and making decrees, and asking questions."

expedition to Sicily,[1] or that strange fancy for mimicking the manners of the feathered tribes which gave occasion to 'The Birds' of Aristophanes, filling the streets with the sounds of twittering, chirruping, cackling, and cooing, in place of human voices and Attic speech, and transforming Athens for a time into a great Chthonococcygia.[2] Besides, whatever attracted the notice of the Athenians, whether for good or for evil, being generally seen by them associated in one way or another with the idea of *the city*, was placed by their patriotic feeling in an inconceivably striking light; and—as is always the case with a despot, whether that despot be an individual or a people—led to expressions ludicrously exaggerated of satisfaction or displeasure.[3] But this reason of their feeling strongly was also a reason why they felt transiently. The nationality on which their character rested was not a stable pillar, erected with the view of keeping the superstructure steady; it was a spire, that supported a weathercock on a pivot polished by perpetual friction. The universal association of every object, great or mi-

[1] Thucyd. VI. 90.

[2] i. e. Ground-cuckooburg, in allusion to the Nephelococcygia or Cloud-cuckooburg of Aristophanes.

Ὀρνιθομανοῦσι· πάντα δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς
Ποιοῦσιν ἄπερ ὄρνιθες, ἐκμιμούμενοι.
Ἥδον δ' ὑπὸ φιλορνιθίας πάντες μέλη,
Ὅσου χιλιὰν ἦν τις ἐμπεπαιημένη,
Ἢ πηνίλοψ, ἢ χήν τις, ἢ περιστερὰ,
Ἢ σφίγγες, ἢ περδοῦ τι καὶ σμικρὸν πρόσω.
(Aristoph. Av. 1284 et seq.)

"They are bird-mad, and in their extacy
They ape all birds in frenzied mimicry,
While each bird-maniac, singing, strains his throat
To catch the swallow's or the goose's note,
The duck's, the dove's, in verses that with 'wing,'
'Plume,' 'feather,' 'pinion,' endless changes ring."

[3] See this mode of feeling well described, as it operated on the mind of an individual despot, by Sir Walter Scott, Life of Napoleon, vol. VIII. c. 12.

nute, with the thought of the democracy, made every object of almost equal importance in the people's estimation, and invested the emotion which each produced with almost equal power. A more striking illustration of this extreme susceptibility of impulse in all directions cannot be imagined than what the life of Alcibiades presents us with. First, the object of such extravagant admiration for the beauty of his person and the elegance of his manner, that the populace which used to glory in the title of *μισοτύραννος*, proposed to revive in his behalf the hated authority of king; then, for a trivial ebullition of youthful spirits, condemned to death with transports of fury and execration; presently, recalled and received with unbounded triumph, to be, on the next trifling failure of success—one too for which he was not responsible—again proscribed and driven to perish by barbarian daggers.[1] Thus, whatever passion ruled the mind of the Athenians ruled it for the moment with absolute sway, and hurried them into action with a precipitation which necessarily led to as sudden a repentance.[2] Hence was produced that strange fickleness in regard to particular measures which forms the most striking of all peculiarities in the moral character of the Athenians,[3] and which authors

[1] Plut. in Alcibiad.

[2] Demosthenes frequently complains of the flattery paid by the orators to that tendency of the popular mind which would be satisfied with nothing but what was to be instantly and to-day. *Οὐ γὰρ εἰ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον ἱστάντες, μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσι.* (Dem. I. Philipp. p. 33.)

[3] *Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ καινοτομεῖν μὴ δείσῃς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν*
Δρᾷν ἀντ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἐστιν· τῶν δ' ἀρχαίων ἀμελῆσαι.
(Aristoph. Eccles. 587.)

"And, in proposing novelties, be confident and bold,
For 'tis our standard principle to slight whate'er is old."

Δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν τυπτι-

have laboured for terms to express, seeming to conceive of it as inconsistency without a name in the science of human nature. In no history shall we find specimens of the operation of so many various principles of action succeeding each other in alternation so rapid and unlooked for. Ἀσκὸς ἐν οἴδμασι ποντοπορεύσῃ said the oracle to Theseus as the representative of his people;[1] and the saying was fulfilled in all its history: with every wave it rose and fell, with every breeze it veered, with every shifting current it was carried away. The whole fortunes of the nation reveal to us a national character 'loose on the point of every wavering hour,' and directed from time to time by all impulses which sway the will of man, by all physical appetites, intellectual principles, moral motives, and passionate influences.[2]

DEFECT OF PRINCIPLE.

This extreme susceptibility of impulse and excitement is not the property of a very exalted national character, when estimated according to the standard either of virtue or of power. It belongs to a nation capable of performing, under a strong impulse, achievements that shall seem of gigantic might or of superhuman virtue, but not of pursuing stedfastly to its consummation one great complicated enterprize; a nation fitted for making the most victorious incursions

ρωπείαν. (Thucyd. I. 102.) "Dreading the propensity of the Athenians to innovation."

[1] Plut. in Thes.

[2] Ἐμπειρότατοι λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες, οὕτως ἀλογίστως ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οὐ ταὐτὰ γινώσκομεν, κ. τ. λ. (Isocr. de Pace. p. 170.) "For skilful though we are beyond all competition in speech and in action, we yet possess so little of steady principle as not to retain throughout the same day on the same subjects the same opinions."

into every field of fame, but not of patiently subduing or permanently appropriating any; a nation equally capable of brilliant successes and subject to disastrous failures;[1] a nation fitted to become the most wonderful in the world, and by possibility the most amiable, but neither the most respectable nor the most estimable. Capable of excursions, beyond the range of ordinary duties,[2] which seem the sublimest efforts of strength and of virtue, the Athenian character was yet essentially weak and vicious. A truly powerful or a truly moral character must be a principled one.[3] It was the constant idea of the majesty of Rome and her vocation to empire, for ever working on the Roman character, that tempered its original iron into steel, and whetted its resistless edge. It was the constant and unvarying subjection of every extraneous impulse to the authority of the law, that was the basis and preservative of the Lacedemonian virtue. The

[1] Hence the fine remark of Demosthenes: "Ὅσα μὲν πώποθ' ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ἐβουλήθητε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πρόσταττον αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, ἐνδὲν πώποθ' ὑμᾶς ἐξέφυγεν· ὅσα δὲ ἐβουλήθητε μὲν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπιβλίψατε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα, ἐνδὲν πώποτε ὑμῖν ἐγένετο. Περὶ Συμμορ. (P. 106.) "For whenever you first resolved in common, and then felt your obligation as individuals to act accordingly, you have uniformly succeeded; but whenever, having resolved, you looked each man to his neighbour for the performance, you as invariably have failed."

[2] Les vertus mâles et courageuses, qui sont, comme dit Balsac, des courses que l'âme fait au-dela des devoirs communs. (Helvetius de l'Esprit, III. 22.)

[3] This remark is well expressed by Demosthenes in his second Olynthiac. "Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οἶμαι καὶ πλοίου τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατα εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει. (P. 18.) "For as it is necessary that the lowest parts of a ship or of a house should be the strongest, so it is requisite that the fundamental principles of action should be true and just."

Athenian character, on the other hand, destitute of any permanent controul of particular principle or aim, (for self-esteem, which was its only unvarying feature, cannot be regarded as a principle in the moral sense,) could at no period of its history be properly denominated a powerful or a virtuous character, at least a character which could give security for its own virtue or its own power. Even when the Athenians admired virtue, they had—to borrow an expression of Madame de Staël[1]—more enthusiasm than respect for it. Thus the Greeks used to say that the Athenians when good were eminently so, but that their goodness could not be counted on.[2] At all times it was the creature of impulse, controuled only by national vanity. The whole system of life was to them a theatre of entertainment, and they played at virtues and vices with all the gay, unthinking, uncalculating versatility of childhood,

> Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
> Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.[3]

The want of virtuous principle in the morals, strictly so called, of the Athenian people is very striking. Except political expediency, there seems to have been no

[1] Sur la Litterature, ch. II.

[2] Τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι· μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης, ἀυτοφυῶς, θείᾳ, μοίρᾳ, ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ τι πλαστῶς εἰσιν ἀγαθοί. (Plat. de Legg. I. tom. II. p. 642.) "The remark which has often been made that whoever are good among the Athenians are eminently so, appears to me a very just one; for among them, more than in any other nation, whatever goodness exists must be genuine, springing not from constraint, but from natural impulse, from divine inspiration."

[3] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 99.

"Fickle as female infant's nursery play,
Caressing late, what now she spurns away."

acknowledged ground of moral action whatever with the democracy. The whole culture under which the Athenian character had been formed was marvellously, we will not say immoral, but at least destitute of morality. Their constitution was rich in voluptuous sensibilities, the climate in voluptuous impulses; the inexperience of their primeval age allowed their moral perceptions to remain in almost infantine rudeness; their national poetry was singularly free from all traces of moral emotion; their education merely cultivated, without in the slightest degree regulating, the power they had received from Nature. Religion, indeed, such as it was, seems always to have possessed a powerful sway over the Athenian character. "Men of Athens," said the apostle of the Unknown God, ages after the period of which we speak, "I perceive that in all things ye are a pre-eminently dæmon-fearing race;"[1] and we find from the whole of the Athenian history that the description was just. Not to speak again of the many martyrs to this popular principle whom we might enumerate among the fathers of philosophy at Athens, the prevalence of sincere superstitious feeling among the Athenians is further proved by many striking circumstances of national manners, such as the rage for oracles and omens "received by tradition from their fathers" which at all periods pervaded the populace;[2] the devoted cultivation of religious mysteries

[1] "Ανδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. (Act. Apost. XVII. 22.) Consult Wakefield's illustrations of this passage in his Sylva Critica, v.

[2] Thus Dinarchus speaks—probably in allusion to oracular books—of τὰς ἀπορρήτους διαθήκας ἐν αἷς τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτήρια κεῖται. (Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 8. ed. Reiske.) "The mystical deposits on which the salvation of the city depends."

by which Attica was so distinguished, that Initiation seems to have been regarded there somewhat in the light in which participation in the sacraments is considered in Catholic countries;[1] and the ungovernable mania of indignation, resembling in all its circumstances the phrenzy produced by the pretended Popish plot in England, which was excited by the youthful frolic of Alcibiades in mutilating the Hermaic images. From all these facts, in opposition to which we have only the single circumstance of the profanity of the popular comedy, which appears to admit of sufficient explanation on a principle already stated, it seems certain that the feeling of religion, such as it was at Athens, continued to pervade the popular mind during the whole series of her history as an independent state. That the better informed classes—not to speak of the philosophers—disbelieved the poetic mythology is certain; one proof of which is the fact, that in all serious works of cultivated men in Athens, such as the writings of the historians, particularly Herodotus, and the harangues of the orators, especially Demosthenes, we find an abstract principle constantly referred to as governing the world, under the name sometimes of Θεος, sometimes of Οἱ Θεοι, but in either case obviously denoting the general principle of a Ruling Power, and not a being or beings possessed of the personality ascribed to the gods in the poetic mythology. Still the most enlightened of them all countenanced the popular religion in public, (Plato defends, and Socrates acted on, the principle,) as an engine of govern-

[1] Δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι. (Aristoph. Pax. 375.) ——"For I Must be initiated ere I die."

ment and police: a fact which sufficiently proves that its vanity was not then recognized, nor likely soon to be so by the body of the nation. If we may suppose the number of religious rites and festivals to be in any degree an index of the true spirit of the people which lavished upon them so much of its time, its genius, and its treasure, we shall find abundant reason to believe in the sincere religious feeling of the Athenian nation. To the erection and embellishment of temples to the gods by far the greater portion of Athenian art was consecrated. In festivals to their honour they consumed twice as many days as any other state in Greece; and their celebration of divine service was beyond all comparison in sumptuousness and splendour.[1] The following is the description which the chorus of Clouds in Aristophanes gives of the Πόλις καταίδωλος[2]:—

Nymphs of the rain,
Let us visit again
The city by Pallas beloved, the home—
The populous home of choicest delights,
Where for the appointed secret rites
From year to year the mystic dome
Duly unfolds its hallowed portals;
And gifts are there to the Powers Divine,
And many a statue and lofty shrine,
And pomps for all the blessed immortals;
Banquet and wreathy sacrifice
Hallow each season as it flies;
And ever, at the voice of spring,
Bacchus his graceful mirth renews;
Sweet choirs in strife melodious sing,

[1] ——Ἐι τις νῆ θεοὺς ἐυσέβεται
Τιμαῖς σεβίζων, ἥδε τοῦθ' ὑπερφέρει.
(Sophocl. Œd. Col. 1006.)

"Whatever land in honouring the gods
Is second, Athens is the first."

[2] Act. Apost. XVII. 16.

And all the festive echoes ring
With thunders of the Scenic Muse.[1]

That the Athenians, then, were a profoundly religious people, according to their own ideas of religion, does not admit of doubt. But it was not to be expected that virtue in its true meaning should find a settled foundation in the mythological religion, which, as we have seen, was a mere deification of human nature with all its vices and weaknesses about it. The only part of the ancient creed which may be supposed likely to have exerted a salutary controul over the moral character of the Athenians was the doctrine which it contained of a retribution to come. This doctrine, indeed, does not seem to have formed an original and integral part of the ancient religion, having been very gradually introduced and incorporated with the system.[2]

[1] Παρθένοι ἱμβρεφόρου
Ἕλλωμεν λιπαρὰν
Χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐάνδρου γᾶν
Κέκροπος ὑψόμιναι πολυήρατον·
Οὗ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα
Μυστοδόκος δόμος
Ἐν τελεταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναδίκτυται,
Οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα,
Ναοί θ' ὑψιρρεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα,
Καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται,
Εὐσεβίαν τε θεῶν
Θυσίαι, θαλίαι τε
Παννυχίδες ἐν ὥραις·
Ἥρι τ' ἐπεχομένῳ βρομία χάρις,
Εὐκελάδων τε χορῶν ἰριδίσματα,
Καὶ Μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν.
(Aristoph. Nub. 298, et seq.)

[2] On this subject there is a very interesting little dissertation by Professor Heeren, in the third volume of his Historical Works, of which the following is the substance: — In Homer's time, the ancients obviously had the idea of a future state, but they do not appear to have conceived of it as one of retribution. (Odyss. XI. XXIV. 100–200.) Personal enemies of the gods, such as Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, &c., (Odyss. XI. 575,) were supposed to suffer torments in that world, just as Prometheus and Atlas in this. Tartarus was conceived of as a deep abyss under the earth, where Saturn and the Titans were punished, (Iliad, VIII. 477,)—a place quite distinct from the kingdom of

It would appear, however, from all the notices which we possess upon the subject, that the disclosure of this great principle constituted the revelation made to the initiated at the Eleusinian mysteries.[1] Of these mysteries, after all that has been written on the subject, we cannot but think that the sixth book of the Æneid is virtually a description. The fame which Gibbon's criticism has acquired as a complete refutation of Bishop Warburton's theory, appears to us to have resulted very much from his having had the last word; for no unprejudiced person can, we think, compare the Prelate with the Historian on this subject, without feeling that the preponderance of evidence is on the same side with that of learning.[2] It

the dead. The personal favourites of the gods were understood to be either transported without dying to the Elysian fields, as Menelaus, (Odyss. IV. 561–570,) or taken up directly to heaven, as Hercules, Ganymede, Tithonus. The vulgar ghosts lived together, without any apparent distinction in the kingdom of the dead, at the western extremity of the earth. Hesiod's views are somewhat more developed than Homer's. According to him, dead heroes inhabited a region of separate happiness, known by the name of the Blessed Islands. (Opera et Dies v. 166.) Afterwards, not only heroes, but all great men, especially patriots, were supposed to be admitted there, as Harmodius and Aristogiton, in the well known fragment of Alcæus. Æschylus approaches very near to the express doctrine of future punishments to the bad. (Eumen. 273, 335. Suppl. 421.) Finally, Pindar expresses the full doctrine of retribution, (Olymp. II. 102, 148,) though mixed with the cognate idea of metempsychosis.

[1] Τὴν τελετὴν ἧς οἱ μετέχοντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἴσχουσιν. (Isocrat. Paneg. p. 46.) "The mysteries, of which those who participate enjoy sweeter hopes than other men in regard both to the end of mortal life, and to the whole duration of their being."

[2] We have observed one striking presumption in favour of the Bishop's theory, which we do not recollect that he has noticed, in the Ranæ of Aristophanes. When

is striking, however, with what indistinctness the doctrine of equal retribution is developed even in the splendid painting of the Æneid; and how many—for example, the shades of the unburied, of infants, of warriors, —are represented as having their destiny in the future world determined, not by "the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be bad," but by mere accidents in their condition, over which they themselves had no controul. And when, in addition to this, we take into account the want of an adequate authority to ratify the revelation then made and bind it upon the faith and consciences of men, we consider ourselves justified in asserting, that among the ancients generally, and among the Athenians in particular, the idea of a retribution to come was a very vague and unimpressive one, and too wavering to afford any solid support to national morality.

The religion, then, which they venerated, was not fitted to sustain the fabric of popular virtue, much less the philosophy, which they despised; and the consequence was, that the conscience of the Athenian people, thus given up without reserve to be moulded by their politics, soon became, like all their other powers, the slave of their predominant nationality. Indeed, their religion

Bacchus and Xanthias have descended to the infernal regions, and are crossing the Stygian lake, the latter remarks the breathings from the further bank of a highly mystical air, (μυστικωτάτη αὔρα, v. 816) and, immediately on landing, they are received by a chorus of, mystagogues, (χορὸς μυστῶν,) who attend them during their whole progress through the shades, by which it is evidently insinuated, that the Aristophanic picture of these regions—which is in principle the same as the Virgilian—was borrowed from the transactions of the Mysteries.

itself bears the impress of the same controul. The temples of Minerva Panathenaica, and Minerva Polias, stood side by side on the summit of the Acropolis, while that of Jupiter Olympius, majestic as befitted the majesty of the god, was yet placed far off on the 'subjected plain.' The moral, indeed—as a great authoress has well remarked—was always viewed at Athens as part of the political.[1] From this inversion of the natural order of things two very disastrous consequences ensued: first, a fatal imperfection in conceiving of the real extent of virtue; and secondly, a fatal laxity in conceiving of the constant obligation of the virtue which was known. On the one hand, the morals of personal purity and domestic duty, and indeed all virtue not directly bearing on the interests of the state, were unacknowledged and unknown. The male part of the population in the discharge of their duty as citizens being almost constantly together, without any intermixture of female society except that of the celebrated courtezans and female sophists, to whom, not less than to famous wits, Athens was 'native or hospitable,' led to excesses of vicious indulgence of which fortunately we can form no conception, and to a universality of personal impurity which has left—however unjustly—a shade of suspicion even on the fairest of her characters. The men being for the same reason compelled to spend most of their time abroad, in the midst of excitement and agitation, soon lost all relish for the calm pleasures and tranquil duties of domestic life. In regard to home, they were always querulous and dissatisfied when there, jealous

[1] Mad. de Staël sur la Literature, IV. The remark receives a striking illustration from the plan, and even the title of Plato's work Πολιτεία, ἢ Περὶ Δικαίου.

and suspicious abroad.[1] More properly speaking, they had no homes; their houses were places to sleep in, and their wives upper-slaves to take care of them.[2] But the same cause which thus swept away the virtues of personal and domestic duty, operated yet further to make the obligation of the virtues which were retained lax and unstable. Thus affability, magnanimity, humanity, gratitude, and bravery, as general qualities, too obviously contributed to advance the interests of the state, and the importance of individual citizens, to be overlooked or disowned by the Athenians as virtues. But then, there were occasions constantly occurring, when, in the particular circumstances, the interest of the democracy or a man's own importance as a member of it, might appear to dictate a departure from the strict observance of the virtues in question, and in these cases the ruling passion was almost sure to carry the day over the particular duty. The Athenian was naturally affable, but he could be reserved and lordly when his politics required it. The ascendancy which Pericles acquired by modest courtesy he maintained by retiring haughtiness of manner;[3] in like manner as the nation administered with ostentatious arrogance the empire it obtained by generous self-denial.[4]

[1] Aristoph. Lysistrat. Ecclesiaz. et Thesmophoriaz. *passim.*

[2] *Ἔστι δὲ ὅτῳ ἐλάσσονα διαλέγῃ ἢ τῇ γυναικί; Εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ πολλοῖς, ἔφη.* (Xenoph. Œconom. p. 481.) "'Is there any person with whom you converse less than with your wife?' 'There may be a few,' he replied, 'but certainly not many.'" *Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐ πάνυ ἴνδον διατρίβω, καὶ γὰρ ἂν τά τι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου πάνυ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ ἱκανή ἐστι διοικεῖν.* (Ibid. p. 487.) "For my part I live very little at home. I think my wife sufficient to take care of the house."

[3] Plut. in Pericl.

[4] *Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες.* (Thucyd. I. 99.) "The Athenians ruled no longer with their former courtesy."

The Athenians were, on the whole, a magnanimous people, and if rightly managed could be brought to sacrifice a great deal to honour; but they thought it too much to be uniformly in their heroics. "Nothing so expedient as the proposal of Themistocles, but nothing so unjust," said Aristides. "We reject it!" shouted the assembly. "The project of the Samians is unjust," said the same Aristides, not long after, "but it is expedient." The people approved the proposal.[1] Again the Athenians were in their general character humane, as the famous altar which they erected to Mercy testified,[2] but, under the impulse of political feeling, capable of savage cruelty. They who treated their slaves with a clemency unknown in any other age or country,[3] and who wept like children at the description of Diogeiton's oppression of his brother's orphan family,[4] tyrannized over their allies with a rod of iron,[5] and, to expiate a trifling and un-

[1] Voyage d' Anacharsis, Introd. II. 2.

[2] Misericordiæ ara celebratissima inter auctores. (Meurs. Ceram. Gem. 16. Stat. Theb. XII. 451.) Πάτριον αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφυτον ἦν τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. (Plut. in Pelop.)

[3] The mildness and equity (if we may use that word of slavery in any circumstances) of their slave-system, constituted in truth one of the fairest distinctions of their polity. Οὔτι παταξαι ἔξεστιν ἀυτόδι (says Xenophon De. Rep. Athen. p. 403)—*ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν—ἐπὶ πλούσιοι δοῦλοι. π. τ. λ.* "It is not allowed at Athens to strike a slave; they enjoy equal liberty of speech with the freemen; they even acquire extensive property."

[4] "Ωστε μηδέπω τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι, φθίγξασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύοντας μηδὲν ἧττον τῶν πεπονθότων ἀπιόντας οἴχεσθαι σιωπῇ. (Lysias c. Diogeit. p. 904, ed. Reisk.) "None that were present were able to speak, but retired weeping as bitterly as the sufferers themselves."

Id ne vos miremini, homines servulos
Potare, amare, atque ad cœnam condicen
Licet hæc Athenis nobis.
(Plaut. Stich. III. 1.)

[5] Οἱ σύμμαχοι δοῦλοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καθεστᾶσι μᾶλλον.

avoidable slight to the manes of a few Athenian mariners, sacrificed with remorseless butchery their own most meritorious citizens, the victors of Arginusæ and deliverers of their country.[1] Again, the Athenians were constitutionally the most grateful, politically the most ungrateful of nations. To a citizen who had deserved well of the republic they, in the first impulse of spontaneous feeling, exaggerated beyond all bounds the expressions of their thankfulness; but the re-action was proportionally powerful, when second thoughts reminded them of danger to the democracy from exalting too highly a single man. Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and almost all their distinguished characters thus learned successively, in exile or in prison, the fickleness of the popular breeze.[2] They were a nation enthusiastically brave, as they proved on many a well disputed day, from Marathon to fatal Chæronea; and yet among their bravest there was nothing of that chivalry of valour which scorns advantage, and leaves stratagem to cowards; the politician was never lost in the soldier, and one regrets that the triumph of Salamis should have been owing not less to the falsehood than to the prowess of Themistocles. The definition, in short,

(Xenoph. De. Rep. Athen. p. 404.) "The allies of the Athenians occupy the position rather of their slaves." Cf. Thucyd I. 99. Ὡς τυραννίδα ἤχετε τὴν ἀρχήν. (Thucyd. II. 63, III. 37.) "Your empire resembles a tyranny." These phrases are quoted by Mitford as a description of the Athenian constitution, chap. XXI. sect. 1. In Thucydides, however, they refer to the Athenian empire.

[1] Xenoph. de Reb. Græc. I. p. 265.

[2] See the excellent chapter of Machiavel, "Per qual cagione i Romani furono meno ingrati a gli loro cittadini che gli Ateniesi." (Discorsi sopra T. Livio, I. 28.)

of Athenian virtue, even in the times entitled 'the virtuous ages,' was nothing else than the pervading nationality of character directing the moral conduct of the citizens by the standard of political expediency. The effects of the principle of Machiavelism thus introduced into the very core and essence of virtue among the Athenians, are strongly perceptible even in the writings of their most enlightened moralists and the conduct of their most upright citizens. Plato, in his Republic, strongly prohibits falsehood, except, he adds, when it is for the good of the State;[1] and Aristides the Just, the Athenian paragon of rigid inflexible virtue, it is remarked by Theophrastus, more than once admitted and acted on the principle that the advantage of the State may require the violation of truth and equity.[2] Almost all statesmanship, indeed, both of ancient and modern times, seems to have taken the principle for granted, that in the complicated relations of politics what is morally wrong may often be politically right. But as the political at

[1] Τοῖς ἄρχουσι δὴ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις, προσήκει ψεύδεσθαι, ἢ πολεμίων ἢ πολιτῶν ἕνεκα, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῆς πόλεως· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἀπτέον τοῦ τοιούτου. (Plato de Rep. III. tom. II. p. 414. See also De Legg. II. tom. II. p. 663.) "The magistrates of the state, if there be no other exceptions, may find it expedient to falsify for its advantage in their intercourse both with enemies and with citizens, but all other individuals must keep at a cautious distance from untruth."

[2] Καθ' ὅλου δ' ὁ Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πράξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς συχνῆς ἀδικίας διομίνην. (Plut. in Aristid.) "On a general view of his character, Theophrastus remarks that this man, so punctually just in the affairs of domestic and social life, often acted, as a public person, on the principle that the advantage of his country required the sacrifice of justice."

Athens was the very standard of the moral, and every individual was daily and directly engaged in the political administration, the influence of this dangerous principle could not be confined to politics, nor could the citizens in their application of it be expected to distinguish very accurately between their private and their public capacity. And so we find that, in the natural course of things, after the influx of wealth and power into Athens made personal corruption a profitable speculation, the principles of self-interest became no less universal in their application to the transactions of private citizenship than to the exigencies of public affairs.[1] When this once happened, the individual soon learned to prefer his own interest to that of the community; expediency in its grossest form was avowed as the principle of action; gain became virtue; and the Athenian was always calculating his profits, "whether he deliberated, or sat in judgment, or amused himself, or danced at the games and spectacles, or vanquished an enemy, or fled before one."[2]

[1] Perhaps commerce had something to do with it. Περίσοικος θαλάττᾳ χώρᾳ, τὸ μὲν παρ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδὺ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἄλμυρον καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιπλᾶσα αὐτὴν, ἦθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα αὐτήν τε πρὸς αὑτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον καὶ ἄφιλον ποιεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως. (Plat. de Legg. IV. II. p. 705).

[2] So Mesner paraphrases Xenophon's description, De Rep. Athen. p. 404. Hence the so frequent recurrence in the orators of allusions to the χρήματα στρατιωτικὰ, χρήματα θεωρικὰ, χρήματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ, χρήματα δικαστικά. Hence too, the point of the remark of Isocrates (Areopagit. p. 144,) that the old Athenians, unlike those of his own day, considered the administration of the commonwealth οὐκ ἐμπορίαν, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν. "Not the making of money, but the discharge of duty." Cf. an admirable passage on this subject,

SECONDARY CAUSES OF NATIONAL DEGENERACY.

This want of principle in the moral system of the Athenians we conceive to have been the great spring of what has been called the degeneracy of Athenian virtue which followed the Persian war. The course of this corruption was, no doubt, materially accelerated by the tone of the prevailing literature, especially the Archilochian and Anacreontic schools of poetry,—by the extensive commerce which Athens carried on with the Eastern seats of luxury,—by the exasperation and recklessness of mind which the misfortunes of the Peloponnesian war occasioned,[1]—by the remarkable dissolution of principle which, the most accurately observant of historians assures us, was produced by the great plague of Athens,[2]—and especially, if we may believe the uniform testimony of antiquity, by the corrup-

Aristot. Pol. VI. 5. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἅμα, καὶ πάλιν τῶν αὐτῶν δέονται· ὁ γὰρ ἀπορημένος ἴσως πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις, κ. τ. λ. "They receive their wages, and stand as much in need of them as ever—for to men without funds, such a resource is like the cask with holes in the bottom."

The practice of pensioning the citizens upon the treasures of the state, first introduced by Pericles, and afterwards confirmed and extended by the successive candidates for popularity who obtained the controul of the finances, soon rendered the character of a citizen not the obligation to a duty, but the means of making money, and inoculated the whole character of the people with the dropsy of avarice which the more it obtains the more it craves.

On the details of this which Boeckh justly terms the most pernicious institution of the age of Pericles, see that author's Public Economy of Athens, vol. I. pp. 224–9.

[1] See the profound chapters of Thucydides descriptive of these effects, III. 82, 83.

[2] Thucyd. II. 53. See this observation strikingly illustrated in a parallel case by Defoe in his account of the pestilence in London, and well-turned to account as a poetical subject in Wilson's 'City of the Plague,' Act. I. Scene 4, and II. 3.

tion of the native music and dancing through the Oriental importations of Phrynis and Timotheus. This last cause of national degeneracy was considered by the ancients as one possessing so peculiar an influence, that it may be proper to bestow on it a somewhat more particular notice. We have, to be sure, in our own literature, such poetic raptures as Shakespeare's:

> "The man that has not music in his soul,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and wars."

But the ancients seem really to have believed what we allow to pass merely as rhetorical or poetical figure. Aristophanes seems seriously to have considered the national music as the main support of national character.

[1] Λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν, ὡς διέκεινο.
——— πρεμαθεῖν ἄσμ' ἰδίδασκεν, τὼ μηρὼ μὴ ξυνίχοντας,
Ἡ Παλλάδα περσέπτολιν δεινὰν, ἢ τηλίπορον τι βόαμα,
Ἐντεναμένους τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἣν οἱ πατέρες παρέδωκαν·
Εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτ' ἢ κάμψειέν τινα καμπήν,
Οἷας οἱ νῦν τὰς κατὰ Φρῦνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους,
Ἐπετρίβετο τυπτόμενος πολλὰς, ὡς τὰς Μούσας ἀφανίζων.
——— ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα
Ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἀ 'μὴ παίδευσις ἤθρεψεν.
(Nub. 961, et seq.)

[1] "Now let me paint the discipline which trained our youth of old,
While yet they sang with gesture chaste such battle-peans bold
As 'Pallas, warrior-goddess dread,' or like far-sounding lays,
To loud majestic harmonies, learned of the olden days.
Then if a luckless boy presumed his wayward skill to try
In quaint distorted quips and cranks of quavering melody
Such as the mincing Phrynis taught, and modern fashions ape,
Stripes well-applied admonished him no more to mock the Muses.
Such was the discipline of old, when Reason kept her throne;
Such was the discipline that trained the men of Marathon."

On the same grounds we find *musical* and *virtuous* used as parallel terms; and a lamentation uttered over the neglect of men so qualified in the state.

One of the great charges, indeed, by which the Comedian justifies his incessant persecution of Euripides, is the share which the latter had taken in promoting the innovations introduced by Timotheus into the popular music; and which, in connection with the effeminate softness and unprincipled casuistry of his tragedies, he affects to consider as forming part of a regular plan for the corruption of manners. But it is not merely the opinion of a licensed libertine of a poet that proves the moral and political importance attached by the ancients to music: for his sentiments are reiterated by many of the most sagacious men of antiquity. Thus Polybius, one of the most exactly inquisitive of all the ancient historians, is at pains to expound the facts on which he founded his opinion of the value belonging to national music, in opposition to a different sentiment which had been expressed by the historian Ephorus.[1] A great part of the third book of Plato's Republic is occupied with the discussion of the same subject in a manner which sufficiently shews the opinion he had of its vital importance to the well-being of a people, an opinion which is especially approved of by Cicero,[2] and generally taken

Ἡ δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ
Ἐστ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ χρηστοῦ τοὺς τρόπους.

(Equit. 191.)

"Alas! a musical and virtuous man
No longer leads the state."

[1] Μουσικὴν γὰρ, τήν γε ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὄφελος ἀσκεῖν. (Polyb. IV. 20). "Music, that is, music rightly so called, it is of high importance for all men to cultivate."

[2] Οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινοῦνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὡς φησί τι Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι. (Rep. IV. tom. II. p. 424.) "I am perfectly of Damon's opinion, that a revolution cannot take place in the music of a people without great political changes accompanying."—"Assentior Platoni, nihil tam facile in animos teneros atque molles influere quam varios canendi sonos, quorum dici

for granted in classical literature. It therefore becomes a point of importance to ascertain what was really the operation of music as a cause in corrupting the national manners of Athens. The fact of the change in the character of the Ionian music simultaneously with the change in the Athenian character is quite ascertained,[1] and from many passages of Aristophanes it is obvious that the perversion complained of was taking place in his time. Now it cannot be doubted, that the corruption of music and the corruption of manners must have acted and re-acted in promoting each other; and that any change on the former must have had a more powerful effect upon the character of the Athenians than we can easily conceive, in consequence partly of their distinguishing fineness and susceptibility of ear, partly of the musical training which

vix potest quanta sit vis in utramque partem. Civitatum hoc multarum in Græcia interfuit, antiquum vocum servare modum; quarum mores, lapsi ad mollitiem, pariter sunt immutati cum cantibus, aut hac dulcedine corruptelaque depravati, ut quidam putant." (Cic. de Legg. II. 15). "I agree with Plato, that no influence so easily insinuates itself into tender and delicate minds, as that of the various tones of music, the power of which either for good or for evil is scarcely to be expressed. The preservation of the antique modulations of vocal melody was a matter of much importance in many of the Grecian states, the characters of which declined into effeminacy simultaneously with their music, and in the opinion of some, were actually depraved by its voluptuous corruptions."

[1] Τὸ Ἰαστὶ γένος ἁρμονίας οὔτε ἀχθηρὸν οὔτε ἱλαρόν ἐστι, ἀλλ' αὐστηρὸν, καὶ σκληρὸν, ἄγκον δ' ἴσχον οὐκ ἀγεννῆ· τὰ δὲ νῦν Ἰώνων ἤθη τρυφερώτερα καὶ πολὺ παραλλάττοντα τῆς ἁρμονίας ἤθος. (Athen. XIV. 625). "The original Ionian school of music was neither extremely morose, nor particularly soothing, but it possessed a certain grave austerity and a swelling roll of cadences which was not without its dignity. But the manners of the Ionians in our own day having become much more luxurious than of old, have introduced a corresponding change on their peculiar style of harmony.

formed so great a part of their education, but most of all from the extent of what they understood by the term *music*, which comprehended all the literature connected with harmony (as was the case in Athens more or less with all literature whatever), and so placed under the guardianship of the Muses.[1] In this large sense of the word, it is not difficult to go along with the statements and reasonings of the ancients on the influence of a depraved music on a people's character: for that is the nearest resemblance which existed in ancient times to the influence of the press in modern. But when the word is taken in its more limited sense, and the same statements are made with regard to it as when it is used in the widest signification, we must consider it as a mistake of the effect, or rather of the concomitant for the cause. No error in reasoning is more easily committed, than when we observe two definite effects resulting simultaneously from one set of circumstances, to understand the one for the cause of the other. The true account of the matter seems to be that given by Cicero, when, after mentioning that some considered the depravation of Athenian music to be the cause of the corruption of Athenian manners, he adds, insinuating that the sentiment is his own: "Or rather, perhaps, when the strictness of manners had been impaired by other corruptions,

[1] Thus Plato, Rep. II. tom. II. p. 876. Καλὸν ἐστι εὐρεῖν βιλτίω παιδείαν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου εὑρημένης· ἔστι δέ που, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ σώμασι γυμναστική, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ μουσική. Μουσικῆς δ' ἐπαὶν, τίθης λόγους, ἢ οὐ; Ἔγωγε. "And in speaking of music do you include literature or not? Certainly I do." Accordingly in the third and seventh books of the same work we find mythology, poetry, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, harmony, and dialectics, described at length, as parts of musical education.

their already altered ear and mind were easily reconciled to this further change."[1] A licentious music, then, like any other vicious habit, began to operate in promoting that corruption in which itself had originated; and, as such a secondary agent, deserves to have a place in the enumeration of the causes which produced the degeneracy of Athenian virtue.

The roots, however, of the mischief lay deeper, and were entwined, as we have seen, around the very foundations of the Athenian character. The national constitution having unfortunately in a great measure taken for granted the virtue of its administrators,[2] no check was found in the law to the rampant corruption. And at last, under the domination of Cleon,[3] matters came to that fearful degree of public and private profligacy which Aristophanes pourtrays with so vivid and unsparing a pencil;[4] in which universal and grasping avarice had

[1] "Aut cum severitas eorum ob alia vitia cecidisset, tum fuit in auribus animisque mutatis etiam huic mutationi locus." (De Legg. II. 15.) See also the quotation from Athenæus in the last note but one.

[2] Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, III. 3. "I do not hesitate to say (says Burke) that that state which lays its foundation in rare and heroic virtues will be sure to have its superstructure in the basest profligacy and corruption." (Speech on Economical reform.)

[3] There is a very lively picture of this pestilent demagogue and the principles of his administration in Aristoph. Eq. 45–80.

Οὗτος καταγνοὺς τοῦ γέροντος τοὺς τρόπους,
Ὁ βυρσοπαφλαγὼν, ὑποστιδὼν τὸν δισπότην
Ἠκαλλ', ἰδώσιν, ἰκολάκευ, ἰξηπάτα, κ. τ. λ.

"The Paphlagonian tanner knew his ways,
And wormed himself into the old man's heart
With flattery, falsehood, adulation, guile," &c.

[4] See a detailed description of this appalling state of things in Meiner's Geschichte des Luxus der Athenienser, and Geschichte der

taken the place of public spirit,[1]—demagogues deceived,[2] and sycophants persecuted,[3]—leaders were selected with no regard to qualifications,[4]—the reins of discipline were laid upon the neck of the public functionaries,[5]—wealth and honour were the reward of the basest arts,[6] and even meanness was not deemed disgraceful if cleverly carried off;[7] all natural respects seemed to be set aside;[8] good men were reduced to that transition state at which they

Wissenschaften VIII. 1, in Plato's Political Works, and in the Areopagitic and Social Orations of Isocrates. We shall content ourselves, however, with citing one or two of the many authorities for each of our statements which the works of Aristophanes contain.

[1] Ὡς μίγα δύναεθον πανταχοῦ τώ δύ ὀβόλω. (Ran. 161.)

"What universal power two little pence possess."

[2] Τάραττε καὶ χόρδιν' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα
Ἅπαντα, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀεὶ προσποιοῦ,
Τραγλυπαίνων χρηματίοις μαγειρικοῖς.
Τἀδ' ἄλλα σοι πρόσεστι δημαγωγικά,
Φωνὴ μιαρὰ, γίγονας πανοῦργος, ἀγοράσιος εἶ.
Ἔχεις ἅπαντα πρὸς πολιτείαν ἃ δεῖ. (Equit. 214, &c.)

"Disturb, confound, entangle every thing,
And make the populace your own by speech
With the cook's jargon seasoned skillfully;
All other statesman-like accomplishments
Thou hast, foul talker! if by birth a knave,
So much the better for an orator,
So much the fitter thou to rule the state."

[3] Οὐκ ἔστι συκοφάντου δήγματος. (Plut. 886.)

"There is no spell against the venomous bite
Of the mad sycophant."

[4] See the two Semichoruses in The Frogs beginning at line 686, and the prologue to 'The People' of Eupolis, ap. Cumberland's Observer, No. 137.

[5] See the instances of public corruption referred to in The Frogs, 356–367.

[6] This the principle of the whole fable of the Plutus.

[7] See the scene between the old woman and young man in the Plutus, 959.

[8] See the lamentations of the Chorus in The Acharnians over the injuries which the old suffered from the young, 676 et seq.

doubt if virtue be worth preserving;[1] a tone of reckless scepticism and ingenious trifling pervaded the public manners;[2] the itch for flattery, the rage for personality, the thirst of poignancy, and the passion for novelty, made Demos already tool to bold bad men, at the same time that all along he more than half-suspected how he was played upon;[3] the Λόγος Δίκαιος, the Reason of ancient times, was not only supplanted but converted to sophistry by his enemy the Λόγος Ἄδικος 'the Unreason of the logo-dædalists;'[4] and the grave sweet melody of the old Ionian music, which had trained the men of Marathon and Salamis, was so transformed by effeminate mixtures and theatrical graces, that Ionian in later times became the name of the most lascivious form of music and dance.[5]

There are two features in the character of his countrymen, as it existed at the period in question, which the poet attacks with peculiar vehemence: and these are the insatiable thirst for war abroad, and the restless mania of litigiousness at home, into which the old passion for national glory and fervour of individual rivalry had been degraded. The love of war was so deeply interwoven with the restlessness of the Athenians, that they seem to have been of Hobbes's opinion, that warfare is

[1] See the character of Chremylus in the Plutus, and particularly the introductory scene.

[2] We may refer in illustration to the whole style and manner of Aristophanes.

[3] See the dialogue between Demos and the Chorus in the Knights, 1150, et seq.

[4] For the use of this expressive word, see Plut. Phædr. quoted by Cicero, Orat. 12.

[5] Aristoph. Nub. 966, compared with Horat. Od. III. 6, 6.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubas.

"The virgin in her prime,
Fond slave of guilty pleasures,
With wreathed limbs keeps time
In soft Ionian measures."

the natural state of man.[1] Even the patriots who entertained the widest views with regard to the true interests of the State appear never to have supposed its extinction possible, but made it their object merely to have it directed into another channel; to turn against the Barbarians, the natural enemies of Greece—if we may recal a now justly exploded idea—that martial spirit which was rending the vitals of Greece itself.[2] So deeply convinced was Aristophanes—as sound a politician as he was an inimitable poet—of the ruinous effects of the passion for mutual war on the character of his countrymen, that he has devoted three complete plays to expose and denounce that readiness in going forth to strive with each other so fatally characteristic of the Greeks, both in ancient and modern times. The following is the graphic description which he gives of the frivolity of the circumstances out of which a war could be got up at Athens:—

—— If but a Spartan chance to make
An expedition in a little boat,
And put to death a small Seriphian lap-dog,

[1] Mitford, chap. xv. sect. 7.

[2] —— Λοιδορῆσαι βούλομαι
Κοινῇ δικαίως, οἱ μιᾶς ἐκ χύτρας
Βωμοὺς περιῤῥαίνοντες, ἄστε ξυγγενεῖς
Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ——
Ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρων στρατεύμασιν
Ἕλληνας ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις ἀπόλλυτε. (Lysistr. 1127, &c.)

——"I have a right, methinks,
To censure those who, from one sacred vase
Sprinkling the altar, as true kindred should,
At Delphi, Pylæ, or Olympia,—
With a barbarian foe before your gates,
Muster, Greek against Greek, your armaments,
And raze the cities of your native land."

The same views are largely and eloquently insisted on in the 5th book of Plato's Republic, and in the latter part of the Panegyrical and Panathenaical Orations of Isocrates, at too great length to be at present quoted.

> Would you sit still at home? Nay, heaven forbid!
> But straightway you would launch in fervid haste
> Three hundred gallies, and the streets would ring
> With noise of mustering warriors.[1]

The love of litigation, again, with which the passion for foreign war was associated in the Athenian character, has been made by Aristophanes the subject of a farce, entitled 'The Wasps,' which, although among the dullest of his works, contains one or two admirable comic scenes, and much valuable information respecting the Athenian litigiousness. It appears that, at an early period of the Athenian commonwealth, every head of a family was the judge of his own household or clan; and, according to the custom of administering justice at the gate, to which there are so many allusions in ancient literature, had

[1] Φίε', ὡ Λακεδαιμονίων τις ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει
'Ακήδοτο φήνας κυνίδιον Σιριφίων,
'Εκάθησθ' ἂν ἐν δόμοισιν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ·
Καὶ κάρτα μέν τ' ἂν ἐυθέως καθείλκυσε
Τριακοσίας ναῦς· ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἡ πόλις πλέα
Θορύβου στρατιωτῶν· κ. τ. λ.
(Acharn. 537, &c.)

The following is a still more interesting passage illustrative of the same subject:—

'Εἶτα Περικλέης φοβηθεὶς μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς τύχης,
Τὰς φύσεις ὑμῶν διδοικὼς, καὶ τὸν αὐτοδαῆ τρόπον
Πρὶν παθεῖν τι δεινὸν αὐτὸς ἐξέφλεξε τὴν πόλιν
'Εμβαλὼν σπινθῆρα μικρὸν Μεγαρικοῦ ψηφίσματος,
'Εξεφύσησε γὰρ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον, ὥστε τῷ καπνῷ
Πάντας Ἕλληνας δακρῦσαι.
(Pax. 606, &c.)

"Then Pericles, fearing his fortune's reverse,
And knowing your tempers so sudden and fierce,
Set fire to the city, while Fate left him free,
With the spark of the little Megaric decree;
And enkindled a war, which had power to provoke
Each nation of Hellas to tears with its smoke."

"A little tiny judgment-seat
Set up before his door."[1]

The institution of the court of the Areopagus—which is referred to a very early period in the monarchy—was the first step to supersede this patriarchal administration of justice. The judicial system of Solon placed a great proportion of this department of power in the hands of the people, which was gradually extended, along with the increase of the democratical system, till it became absolute. Pericles encouraged the litigious system, by introducing payment of the jurymen; and, in order that the gain might be more extensive, the number of dicasts was greatly increased. In each of the ten courts, there were frequently juries of five hundred; and, in the supreme court of Heliæa, in which all the divisions met together, the number of dicasts sometimes amounted to six thousand. Thus the number of citizens engaged, the gain received, the love of excitement gratified, and, above all, the sense of importance and power implied in the discharge of their judicial functions, made the love of trials, or, as Wieland calls it, "the process-fever," a ruling passion in the latter ages of the republic.[2] Nor could any thing be a more satisfactory proof, in those

[1] Δικαστηρίδιον μικρὸν πάνυ, παντα χοῦ περὶ τῶν θυρῶν. (Vesp. 803.)

[2] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὖν τέττιγες ἵνα μὴν' ἢ δύο
Ἐπὶ τῶν κεραῶν ᾄδουσιν· Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἀεὶ
Ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν ᾄδουσι πάντα τὸν βίον. (Av. 39, &c.)

"The insects which Athenians love, are wont
To sing a month or two upon the boughs,
But they themselves sing all their live-long days
Around the judgment-seats."

The reader may consult the description of the advantages and enjoyments of a dicast which Philocleon gives, from line 549 of the Vespæ.

days, of disaffection to the commonwealth, than for a man to drop a hint about circumscribing the privilege of litigation.

"Go straight for Cleon, go!"

exclaims the chorus of law-suit loving Wasps,

"And let our leader know
That we have here a traitor,
A wretch, a city-hater,
Who wantonly seditious
Says law-suits are pernicious."[1]

But what our poet seems to have regarded as the most dangerous symptom of his country's moral disease was the influence exercised at this period, especially over the young, by a set of frivolous, sceptical, voracious virtuosos in profligacy, who, under the name of Sophists, made it their profession to teach wickedness as a science, and whose power, therefore, he strenuously set himself to attack with the missiles of his formidable satire, at the same time that it was assailed with the weightier weapons of argument by his great cotemporary Socrates, with whom, in the confusion of the fight, he came into such unfortunate and unaccountable collision. The pernicious race of Sophists were not more the promoters than the produce of the corrupted state of national manners at Athens. The great object of their system, and the prime reason of their popularity, was just their undertaking to justify by argument the principles which Athens obeyed in practice, and transmute the dictates

[1] Κλέωνι ταῦτ' ἀγγέλλιστε,
Καὶ κελεύετ' αὐτὸν ἥκειν,
Ὡς ἐπ' ἄνδρα μισόπολιν
Ὄντα κἀπιβουλεύοντα,
Ὅστις λόγον τόνδ' εἰσφέρει
Ὡς δίκας χρὴ μὴ δικάζειν.
(Vesp. 409, et seq.)

of national ambition into those of scientific reasoning. We have seen in what manner out of the unbridled patriotism of the national character there naturally grew a total perversion of the ideas of right and wrong; and we find, on more than one occasion, the maxim that 'might makes right,' avowed by the nation as its governing principle of action; in the speech, for example, of the Athenian ambassadors at Sparta immediately before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.[1] Now this is neither more nor less than the characteristic principle of the sophistical theory. Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Thrasymachus, Hippias, had all their distinctive specialities of opinion, and peculiar modes of viewing and of treating the various subjects which attracted their notice: but in this opinion, as the discriminating tenet of their school, they all agreed, that there is no essential distinction between truth and falsehood, right and wrong; and that expediency supplies the only rational law of opinion and of conduct.[2] Proceeding on

[1] Thucyd. I. 76.

[2] The reader will find these principles maintained with unblushing boldness, and with no small ingenuity and eloquence, by Callicles in Plato's Gorgias, and by Thrasymachus in the Republic. Ἡ δί γι, οἶμαι, says the one, φύσις αὐτὴ ἀποφαίνει ἄν, ὅτι δίκαιόν ἐστιν τὸν ἀμείνω τοῦ χείρονος πλέον ἔχειν, καὶ τὸν δυνατώτερον τοῦ ἀδυνατωτέρου. (Tom. I. p. 484.) "I think Nature herself sufficiently intimates that it is just for the better to possess more than the worse, the stronger than the weaker." Ἔτημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ, says the other, εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἄλλο τι, ἢ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ξυμφέρον. (Tom. II. p. 338.) "For I maintain that justice is nothing but the advantage of the strongest." And again: Τοῦτ' οὖν ἐστιν, ὃ λέγω, ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο εἶναι δίκαιον, τὸ τῆς καθεστηκυίας ἀρχῆς ξυμφέρον. (Tom. II. p. 339.) "This then is what I say, that in every State that is just which is for the advantage of the established government."

this principle of having no principle, the Sophists found themselves at liberty to pander both to public and to private profligacy; they invented a flagitious system of logic and rhetoric, by which they professed themselves ready to vindicate or condemn any thing whatever, and successively to prove the affirmative and negative of the same proposition. And it is not wonderful, therefore, that in a State where perpetual inconsistency, endless debate, and rottenness of principle, afforded them such ample scope, their arts should for a time at least have enjoyed a boundless popularity; that these 'traders in wisdom,' falsely so called, should have carried on a very lucrative commerce,—these 'hireling hunters of the rich and young,' should have ensnared unnumbered victims in their toils,—these 'quack-professors in intellectual medicine,' should have doubled the malady in the constitution of the State which yielded them their wealth and fame.[1]

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL DECLENSION.

Such is the fearful picture which Aristophanes has drawn of the moral condition of the Athenian people in his own age; and while we are to recollect the definition which Aristotle gives of the ancient comedy, "that it is an imitation of Nature's deformities,"[2]—that the works of Aristophanes are satires and caricatures,—we must admit, at the same time, that if there be much exagge-

[1] Sophistæ appellabantur ii qui ostentationis aut quæstus causâ philosophantur. (Cic. Quæst. Acad. II. 23.)—Τὰ μαθήματα καπηλεύοντες. (Plat. Protag. tom. I. p. 224.) Νέων καὶ πλουσίων ἴμμισθοι θηρευταί. (Plat. Theæt. tom. I. p. 221.) Ἰατροτέχναι. (Aristoph. Nub. 332.)

[2] Ἡ δὲ Κωμῳδία μίμησις φαυλοτέρων ἐστί. (Aristot. Poet. 5.)

ration, there is also strong resemblance. Antipater praises Aristophanes for the equality which his comic vein maintained with the theme which he pourtrayed, and the propriety with which he distributed his laughter and his hatred;[1] and Plato sent a copy of his comedies to the tyrant Dionysius, not only as the best possible specimen of Athenian speech, but as the best possible picture of Athenian manners.[2] During this declension of national virtue, it is some relief to the darkness of the scene to observe how strongly the Athenians felt their own degradation, and with what bitterness they blamed the men whom they supposed to be its authors. But the torrent of circumstances which we have described dragging down the Athenian virtue, was too powerful to be resisted by a few instinctive, occasional struggles of feeling towards their former position, and the only individual who seems to have had genius enough to form a regular plan for checking the tide of corruption, and resolution enough to put it in practice, was the ever-memorable son of Sophroniscus. Socrates perished, but the fruits of his instructions survived, especially in the extinction of the power possessed by the Sophists; and coinciding both in time and in tendency with the severe chastisement which the spirit of arrogant and exclusive nationality received in the Peloponnesian war, and the introduction of what Harrington calls the

[1] Ὦ καὶ θυμὸν ἄρισται, καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἠθέων ἴσα
Κωμικὰ, καὶ στύφας ἄξια καὶ γελάσας.
(Ap. Aristoph. Brunck. l. xviii.)

"Thou, bard, alone had'st wit,
For the task of painting Greece;
Each comic point to hit
Of her vice or her caprice;
And, gay or stern, to fit
Thy quick humours to the piece."

[2] Scaliger. Vit. Aristoph.

rotatory, or partially representative system into the government, by the result of Pisander's revolution,[1] were followed by a considerable national improvement. At least the period succeeding the re-establishment of the democracy by Thrasybulus, is very favourably distinguished from those that preceded it by the apparent superiority of public virtue and private happiness.[2] It was, however, a partial and temporary reformation. The great Pagan martyr fell; prosperity again shone upon the State; Lacedæmon and Thebes, her only rivals, sank under the consequences of mutually inflicted wounds; Athens again became the head of Greece, and, as of old, vain, overweening, and corrupt.[3] The former dark scene of public and private profligacy returned, though still from

[1] Harrington's Prerogative of Popular Government, I. 12. (Vid. Thucyd. VIII. 97.)

[2] Μετρίαν γὰρ ἥ τι ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγίνετο,—"a well tempered moderation was introduced in regard both to the few and to the many,"—is the account which Thucydides gives (*loc. cit.*) of the effect produced by the establishment of the modified democracy. Κατεστασταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο,—"the state governed itself in peace,"—is Xenophon's short but emphatical description of the peace that its restoration by Thrasybulus created. Even Mitford (ἐκὼν ἀέκοντι δὲ θυμῷ) is constrained to admit the fact of a great improvement, at this period, in the state of Athens. Chap. XXVIII. sect. 3.

[3] Hujus (Epaminondæ) morte etiam virtus Atheniensium intercidit; siquidem, amisso cui æmulari consueverant, in segnitiem torporemque resoluti, non, ut olim, in classem exercitusque, sed in dies festos apparatusque ludorum reditus publicos effundunt, et cum actoribus nobilissimis poetisque theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam quam castra visentes, versificatoresque meliores quam duces laudantes; tum vectigal publicum, quo antea milites et remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum. (Justin. VI. 9.) "With the death of Epaminondas, the virtue too, of the Athenians expired; for thenceforward, being left without the rivalry to which they had been accustomed, they sank into a state of torpid and

time to time illumined by flashes of heroic character, and all the better principles of human nature. Out of that corrupted mass there still emerged, in brilliant succession, such men as Iphicrates, Timotheus, Chabrias, Demosthenes, and Phocion; and the confidence which the democracy in its emergencies reposed in their virtues, and the magnanimous deeds which she performed under their guidance, contribute not a little to relieve the pervading darkness of her moral character. But each of these illustrious men in his turn left sufficient evidence of the uncongeniality of his character with the spirit of his age.[1] Favoured by the course of events, and cherished by such demagogues as Chares, the second Cleon, shameless corruption rotted the last bulwarks of Athenian virtue, and Philip found the silver spears, recommended by the oracle,[2] at least as powerful to subdue her as the bristling iron of his own boasted phalanx; the ass stumbling onwards under the weight of Mace-

indolent dissipation. The public revenues were no longer expended as usual on their fleets and armies, but squandered on festivals and sumptuous spectacles; they crowded to the theatres for the purpose of enjoying the company of the distinguished actors and dramatists; the stage was more frequented than the camp, and versifiers were eulogized as more profitable to the State than generals. It was at this time that the public funds, from which the soldiers and mariners used to be supported, were first distributed among the citizens at home." Anacharsis would say that he wondered how at Athens wise men did propose, and fools dispose. (Lord Bacon's Apophth. 295.)

[1] It is a curious circumstance noticed by Corn. Nepos in his life of Chabrias, that almost all the great Athenians of that age chose to live abroad; Conon in Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus in Lesbos, Chabrias in Egypt; any where rather than at Athens.

[2] Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχου, καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

"With silver spears, O king, make war,
And thou shalt conquer near and far."

donian gold more irresistible than the whirlwind of his Thessalian cavalry.[1] Athens was enervated at home before she was enslaved at Chæronea.

IDEA OF THE ATHENIAN CHARACTER.

We have thus considered, with as much detail as our limits allowed, the national character of the Athenians, and the causes of those peculiarities by which it was distinguished. Out of a system of civilizing influences, whose fundamental principle was that it permitted and encouraged a free, unbiassed, impartial developement of human nature, and a series of political events which raised the natural principle of self-esteem into unusual force, we have seen a character emerge, which, unfolding itself on the one hand in the ardent culture of elegant art, and on the other in a fatal instability of moral principle, made Athens at once the most brilliant and the most corrupted State recorded in all history,—the mother of so glorious a progeny of patriots, statesmen, warriors, poets, orators, historians, philosophers, artists,—the nurse of so malignant a brood of demagogues, sycophants, sophists, quacks, courtezans, and knaves of every form and dimension. To embody our idea of the national character of Athens in an individual type, we might term her a national Aspasia; fascinating but dissolute

[1] When some one had described a certain city to Philip as impregnable, he asked if it could not admit an ass laden with gold.

——— Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.
(Horat. Od. III. 16. 14.)

"The man of Macedon,
Burnt city-gates with gold;
And many a rival throne,
His gifts in ruin rolled."

See the magnificent contrast between the ancient integrity and the later corruption of the Athenians in the third Philippic of Demosthenes, p. 70.

like her,—the model of feminine beauty, the mirror of fashionable elegance, the mistress of pleasure to Alcibiades, the instructress of Pericles in eloquence, the muse of philosophy to Socrates, the paragon of Atticism to Athens.[1] Or we might style Demos a collective Alcibiades,—a name associated with the character of a man, the most strangely compounded of grandeur, gracefulness, selfishness, and vice, that the page of history records. Ever buoyant with the sense of superiority, and reigning over the admiration of men with an irresistible ascendant,—endowed with a pliability of demeanour which could suit itself to every state of manners, and a flexibility of spirit which could attach itself to every object of pursuit,—alternately attracted and repelled between the love of pleasure and the love of glory, and in either case with equal force,—irresistible equally when he wished to please or to destroy,—he made vice itself almost amiable by the brilliance with which he invested it. Yet he felt for himself alone; the love he excited he could not experience; he courted admiration and scorned the admirers; love and admiration were claimed by him as rights, and imposed on his heart no reciprocal obligation. He was the impersonation of fascinating ruin, pernicious loveliness. The shield whose lustre he delighted to soil in the bloodiest of the battle was made of gold and ivory, and its expressive device was, Love darting Thunder.[2]

[1] Plut. in Pericl. Plat. Menex. tom. II. p. 235. Vie d'Aspasie, Choix des Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions, III. 1. Par M. de Burigny.

[2] Ἀσπίδα εἶχεν ἐκ χρυσίου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένην, ἐφ' ἧς ἦν σημεῖον, Ἔρως κεραυνὸν ἠγκυλισμένος. (Athen. XII. p. 534.) See a very lively description of Alcibiades by Wieland in his Agathon, XIV. 3.

CONCLUSION. The great advantage of such investigations as that in which we have been engaged, is the instruction they afford us in the science of human nature. In this instruction no character is so fertile as that of the Athenians. The sublime view which both Reason and Revelation suggest of the place they filled in the history of Man is, that they were set up before the Universe as representatives of Human Nature left to its own guidance,—of what it could do, and what it could become. And the scene which we have been surveying may very properly be called a history of the human understanding and the human heart in circumstances peculiarly calculated to afford their natural tendencies full scope and play. The Athenians reached the limit both of man's intellectual majesty and of his moral degradation; and both by their grandeur and their debasement have taught many an important lesson to the species in all departments of knowledge and of action. And, though we may not suffer the brilliance of their talents to blind us to the defects of their morality, yet, as public benefactors of the race, the ancient Athenians are entitled to all the thanks which posterity can render. They sowed the seeds, in the stormy and unsettled spring-time of the world, which are fast ripening to the harvest of a brighter season than earth has yet beheld. And it is meet that, for the benefits which have arisen or shall yet arise from the progress of Freedom and Civilization, all generations of men should yield the homage of their gratitude to that glorious republic, which within her wooden walls as in an ark preserved them both from being overwhelmed, when the deluge of barbaric force swept over the dwellings of their youth. It is animating

to behold the enlightened nations, with Britain at their head, awake to the generous impulse, and, by spreading the shield of their protection over the reviving liberties of Greece, repaying, as far as that may be, the debt which they owe to those illustrious men, the hundredth generation of whose children are now worthily asserting their claim to the heritage of their fathers.[1] The ancient spirit is yet alive. Though long fettered and still enfeebled by heavy oppression, it has lightened forth in deeds of heroism worthy the days of ancient renown, and is even now panting for their revival. The Congress of Epidaurus, the first Amphictyonic Council of regenerated Greece, has sublimely declared "in the face of the Universe, her anxious desire to regain the place she has lost by centuries of oppression, and to be numbered again among the enlightened nations of Europe, to whom," it is added, "she looks for sympathy and support."[2] Europe has heard the call, and answered with propitious thunder. May heaven prosper the omen, and speed the expected time of which young Hope is fain to prophesy, —when the Eye of Greece, so long extinguished, shall be

[1] How delightful to find thus realized, though late, the generous idea which long ago struck the noble mind of Milton, and which he has strikingly expressed in a letter to his friend, Philarus of Athens. "Quod si mihi tanta vis dicendi accepta ab illis (Atheniensium scriptoribus) et quasi transfusa inesset, ut exercitus nostros et classes ad liberandam ab Ottomanico tyranno Græciam, eloquentiæ patriam, excitare possem; ad quod facinus egregium nostras opes pœne, implorare videris, facerem profecto id quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in votis prius esset. Quid enim vel fortissimi olim viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quum vel suadendo vel fortiter faciendo ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. (Milton's Prose Works, vol. II p. 575.)

[2] Blaquiere's History of the Greek Revolution.

rekindled in its ancient lustre; when the Mother of Arts so long forsaken, shall welcome her far-scattered children back to her embrace;—the time when another Alcæus, at an Athenian festival, shall wreathe the tyrannicidal sword with myrtle;[1] when another Æschylus, resting from victorious battle, shall sing the waters of Salamis, again consecrated by the triumph of the free; when a new Demosthenes shall swear by another Marathon; when Philosophy shall muse once more among the olive groves of Academe, and Art enshrine herself upon her own Acropolis; and when, more happy than of old, Liberty, no longer the confederate of Licence, shall maintain inviolable the harmony of her balanced powers, and Religion, purified from superstition, shall adore, in spirit and in truth, the now not 'UNKNOWN GOD!'

[1] An allusion to the famous fragment attributed to Alcæus:

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ ξίφος φορήσω,
Ὥσπερ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων,
Ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην,
Ἰσονόμους θ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην.

"As erst by the patriot youths, the sword
On a myrtle bough shall be borne by me;
When they slew the city's tyrant-lord,
And made our beautiful Athens free."

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